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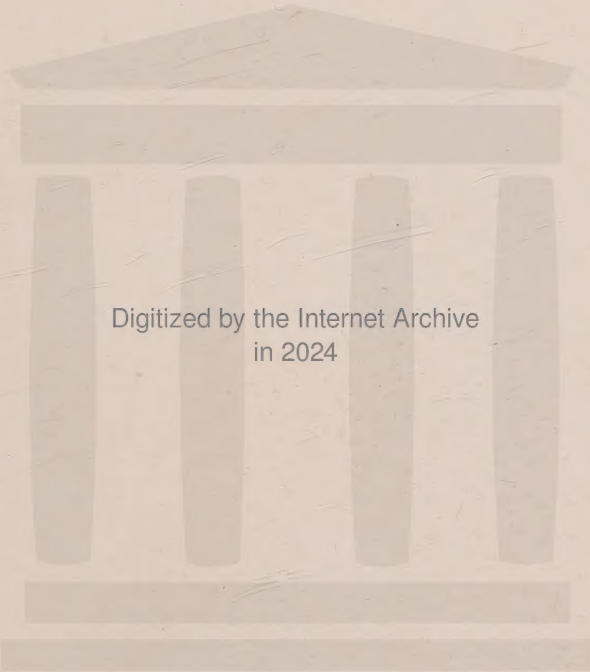
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HANDBOOK
OF
HOMERIC STUDY



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HANDBOOK

OF

HOMERIC STUDY

BY

HENRY BROWNE, S.J.

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Preface to the First Edition

AN apology can hardly be required for any effort, however feeble, towards lessening the difficulties of Homeric study, and making it a little more intelligent. In his two-fold capacity of learner and teacher, the writer has found that at the very threshold of his task a student is confronted with a mass of complex problems which hardly grow less entangled as he proceeds. He cannot ignore them if he would, unless he be content with merely translating the poetry line by line; his ordinary commentaries, handbooks of literature and history, his very dictionaries, teem with allusions to controversial topics, and may often contain statements which are mutually destructive, as well as over confident. In this matter of decisiveness there is a danger of defect, as well as of excess, and I can scarcely hope in my own pages to have steered successfully between the two extremes. On the one hand, it is less important for the beginner to have a cut and dried solution of his difficulties (even were this possible) than to feel their true inwardness, to recognise their mutual relations, and to grasp the lines by which he might hope at least to reach a tolerable solution of them. Hence it has been constantly my concern to lay before the reader the elements out of which he could form a judgment of his own, rather

than to force on him conclusions to which I find myself inclined. On the other hand—to have any chance of interesting him in questions like the date and authorship of the Poems, the nature and history of their dialect, the relation of the Homeric to pre-historic, oriental, and Hellenic civilisation and art, and other kindred difficulties arising out of modern archæology, comparative religion, and linguistic science—it appeared needful, as well as natural, to attempt the framing of a clear and consistent hypothesis regarding the more important discussions. What made it feasible for me to essay such a task is a strong conviction that (provided we keep as much as possible to general principles and neglect what is comparatively unimportant) it is possible to discern beneath all the surface differences a real and practical unanimity, at least on many points, among the highest and best authorities on Homer—and that, although the progress of Homeric science, especially archæology, may raise many new and urgent questions, yet it has a progressive tendency to dispose for ever of many a time-honoured controversy.

Possibly the matters herein treated of may be of interest to others who are not professed students of the Homeric text; still the needs of the latter have been kept mainly in view. It is hoped they will find the book fairly complete for purposes of reference on more general topics, but the first glance at it will show them that they must not regard it as in any way superseding the ordinary Homeric grammars, text-books, or lexicons. I have resisted the obvious temptation to use appendices, owing to a belief that for young students what is worth giving at all is worth giving in the text.

As the authorities followed are usually referred to in foot-notes it is hardly necessary here to specify fully the obligations I am under to published works. I have, as I hope, made it clear that the most inspiring book I ever read on Homer—it has been like the key to a Sphinx's riddle—was the late Professor Geddes' work, *The Problem of the Homeric Poems*. I also, naturally, owe much to the various publications on Homer of Dr. Monro, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; to Sir Richard Jebb's *Introduction to Homer*; and to Professor Percy Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*. I may add that the introductory chapters in Professor Bury's new *History of Greece* appear to me to compress much learning into a compact and interesting form. The monumental work, *A Companion to Greek Study*, just issued by the Syndics of the University Press of Cambridge, would have been of immense benefit to me had it been in my hands before my last sheets were going through the press, when I could barely avail myself of its wonderful wealth of learning. Although on quite different lines, my Scheme of Approximate Chronology of the Poems was first suggested by Mr. H. R. Hall's very useful Scheme of Mycenæan Chronology.

What I feel to be more incumbent on me is to express the debt of gratitude I have incurred to Mr. John L. Myres, of Christ Church, who has both allowed me to make use of the as yet unpublished notes of his invaluable lectures on Homeric archæology, and has taken much trouble in rendering me manifold assistance. In regard to matters of geography and commerce, and particularly that great 'crux,' the Phœni-

cian question, I owe everything to his kindly criticism and advice. He is not, however, responsible for the particular application I have ventured to make of his Diagonal theory (on page 175) ; still less are my errors or omissions, which are wholly my own, to be imputed to him. On textual matters, Mr. T. W. Allen, of Queen's College, the collaborator of Dr. Monro in editing the Poems, has been equally helpful ; and I am also obliged to Dr. F. G. Kenyon, of the British Museum, for information regarding the papyri of which he has proved himself so masterly a decipherer. Last, but not least, my best thanks are due to my former tutor at New College, Mr. A. O. Prickard, who has devoted his time to reading the pages in proof, and has, moreover, given me several valuable suggestions, and much badly-needed encouragement.

H. B.

Preface to the Second Edition

I THANK reviewers, and a kind friend previously unknown to me, for bringing under my notice several misprints and other slips in the first edition. Beyond correcting such I have found it impossible for the present to introduce changes into my *Handbook*. Important contributions to the solution of Homeric problems have meanwhile appeared ; but as I cannot now deal with them adequately I have thought it better to defer their discussion.

H. B.

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DUBLIN.

Contents

CHAPTER I

THE HOMERIC POEMS

	Page
Sec. 1—Introductory Survey of Homeric Poetry	1
<p>Object and limits of introductory Section.—Main scope of <i>Iliad</i>.—Back-ground of plot of <i>Iliad</i>.—Counter-plot formed by Olympian Divinities.—<i>Odyssey</i>, how contrasted with <i>Iliad</i>.—Plot of <i>Odyssey</i>.—Special features of <i>Odyssey</i>.—The so-called Homeric ‘Hymns.’—Humorous pieces.—Poems loosely attributed to Homer.—Cyclic Poems connected with the <i>Iliad</i>.—Cyclic Poems connected with the <i>Odyssey</i>.</p>	
Sec. 2—Homer and the Cycle	14
<p>Poems included in Trojan Cycle.—The Cycle, a result of accommodation.—Origin of the Trojan Cycle.—Date of Homer prior to the ‘Cyclics’.—Conclusion regarding date of <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>.—Further corroboration of date of Homer (850-800 B.C.)</p>	
Sec. 3—The Poems among the Greeks	24
<p>Traditional introduction of the Poems into Greece.—The Poems among the Athenians.—The Recension of Peisistratus.—Cynæthus of Chios and Antimachus of Colophon.—The Poems at the Panathenæa.—The Homeridæ and the Rhapsodes.—Homer in Greek Education.—Plato’s attitude towards Homer.—Foundation of textual criticism of Homer.—The Forerunners of Aristarchus.—The linguistic labours of Aristarchus.—His treatment of Homeric questions in general.—The critical signs of Aristarchus.—The work of Didymus and ‘The Epitome.’—The arrangement of the Poems in Books.</p>	

Sec. 4—The Homeric Dialect - - - - - 40

Homeric Dialect essentially composite.—Old Ionic forms the prevailing element.—Æolisms in Homer.—Fick's theory: *Inflexional forms*; *Special forms of words*; *Special words*.—Traces of the Digamma.—Absence of all trace of Dorism.—New-Ionic Forms and Atticisms.—Alleged Hellenistic Forms.—Occurrence of False Archaisms in the Homeric Dialect: (*The confusion of words*; *The formation of impossible verb-forms by false analogy*; *A confusion of dialects*; *Mistakes regarding words*).—Conclusion from the above facts.

Sec. 5—Our Homeric Text - - - - - 51

A short recapitulation.—The existing authorities for our Homeric Text.—The Codices.—Earlier evidence: fragmentary MSS. and papyri.—The Scholia.—Extant quotations in Classical authors.—Conclusions drawn from above data.—What real effect had Alexandrian criticism on the Vulgate?—The pre-Alexandrian Canon.—Antiquity of Athenian Vulgate.

Scheme of Approximate Chronology - - - - - 64

Sec. 6—Homeric Grammar, Style and Metre - - - - - 66

General principles of Homeric Grammar.—Remarks on Contraction in Homeric Grammar.—Noun-formation.—Pronoun-forms.—Verb-formation.—Preposition-forms.—Syntax of Moods.—Syntax of Cases.—Use of the so-called article, *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τό*.—Uses of Particles.—Characteristic figures of speech.—Homeric epithets.—Vocabulary and meaning of words.—Homeric Verse—The Pause.—Elision and Hiatus.—Vowel quantity.—Loss of Digamma and other consonants.—Crisis and Synizesis.

CHAPTER II

THE HOMERIC BARDS

Sec. 1.—Traditional Belief in a Personal Homer - - - - - 81

How we approach the Homeric Controversy.—External evidence for a personal Homer.—The Tradition merely apparent.—Internal evidence for Homer the only test.—Conclusions we hope to establish.

	Page
Sec. 2—Gradual Composition of the Poems - - -	87

Our point of view defined.—Analogy of argument regarding date of Cyclic Poems.—Minor discrepancies may be neglected.—Development of language during composition of Poems.—Vocabulary.—Metrical peculiarity.—Development of civilisation during formation of Poems.—Ideas of Religion.—Ethical progress.—Evolution of the Myth.—Material civilisation.—Borrowing from earlier by later Bards.

Sec. 3—Evolution of the ‘Iliad’ - - -	104
--	-----

The original scope of the *Iliad*: its hero.—Theory of an Achilleid: a ‘via media.’—Limits of the Primitive Poems.—The greater expansions.—Lesser Interpolations.—Some distinguishing features of later work.—Tabular scheme of Books, to illustrate the Evolution of the *Iliad*.—Odyssean affinities of later work.

Sec. 4—Local Origin of the Poems - - -	118
---	-----

Asiatic theory of Homer’s birth-place.—Arguments on the European side.—Intrinsic probability of two-fold origin.—Thessalian origin of ‘Achilleid.’—Ionian origin of Odyssean portions.—Question of Æolisms in Homeric language.—Theory of an Æolic School properly so-called.

Sec. 5—Is the ‘Odyssey’ Composite? - - -	132
---	-----

Conclusions as to *Odyssey* must be uncertain.—Period of decadence of Ionian epic.—Positive traces of later ‘Redaction.’—Duplication of incidents in the *Odyssey*.

Sec. 6—What, then, we mean by ‘Homer’ - - -	139
--	-----

Is no place left for ‘Homer the Bard’?—Our position reviewed.—Two views of ‘Homer’ considered.—Only sure meaning of the name of ‘Homer.’

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL OUTLINES OF THE HOMERIC	Page
CONTROVERSY	144

Controversy started from Wolf's *Prolegomena*.—The Wolfian School in Germany.—The reaction against the Wolfian School.—Constructive School in England.—Grote.—Important advance made by Professor Geddes.—Part of Geddes' theory not well established.—Mr. Walter Leaf and Sir Richard Jebb.—Paley's Paradox.—Professor Paley's arguments.—Kirchhoff's work upon the *Odyssey*.—'Nostos' and two 'Redactions.'—Tabular scheme of Books to illustrate Kirchhoff's theory of the *Odyssey*.

CHAPTER IV

HOMERIC LIFE

Sec. 1—Geography and Commerce	169
--------------------------------------	------------

Special importance of this subject.—Homeric Cosmography.—The Troad and its Topography.—The Hellespont and its area.—Homeric view of Ægean Geography.—The Western Peloponnese.—Ithaca and its surroundings.—Crete and its Inhabitants.—Phoenicia and its Traders.—Evidence in the Poems regarding the Phoenicians.—Notices in the Poems regarding Egypt and the East.—The Western Mediterranean.

Map of Homeric Geography	188
---------------------------------	------------

Sec. 2—Religion and Ethics	190
-----------------------------------	------------

Religion and Mythology.—Primitive or Chthonian Cults.—Traces in Homer of Primitive Religion: (*Nature-cults*; *Worship of the Dead*; *Human Sacrifice*; *Earlier Dynasties*; *Survivals of a Matriarchal period* [?])—Homer and later religion contrasted.—Homer's great triad of Divinities.—The Homeric conception of Zeus.—Is Zeus really a Supreme Ruler?—Do the Homeric gods work evil?—Some characteristics of the Homeric Cult.—The supposed condition of the Dead.

	Page
Sec. 3—Social Organisation	204

Do the Poems give a picture of real society?—Society roughly organised but strongly aristocratic.—Paternal Constitution of the State.—System of Land-Tenure.—Law of Hospitality.—Woman's high position and influence.—Position of Slaves in Homer.—Industrial Organisation.

Sec. 4—Material Civilisation	217
-------------------------------------	-----

Knowledge and use of metals.—Do the Poems deal with an 'age of Iron'?—The Homeric Palace.—The position of the Women's Quarters.—Domestic and Dietary arrangements.—Male and Female Apparel.—Panoply of Homeric Warrior.—Evidence for the large shield.—Evidence for Armour of later type.—The war chariot.—Navigation.

CHAPTER V

WHO WERE THE HOMERIC PEOPLE?

Sec. 1—The Problem Stated	237
----------------------------------	-----

Historical basis of the Poems worth consideration.—New data for the investigation of this question.—First beginnings of the Hellenic period.—So-called Legendary period.—Yet the Poems existed, where did they come from?—Could we not pierce the veil and see the vision?

Sec. 2—Triumph of the Spade	244
------------------------------------	-----

The story of Schliemann.—Troy and Mycenæ.—The so-called Mycenæan city of Troy.—Great Argive Fortresses.—The Shaft and Tholos-tombs of Mycenæ.—Excavations in Cyprus.—Importance of late discoveries in Crete.—Excavations of Dr. A. J. Evans at Knossus.—Discovery of early Cretan forms of Writing.—Further aspects of Cretan discoveries.—The British School of Phylakopi (Melos).—In what sense is Mycenæan culture indigenous? Mycenæan vases easily recognisable.

	Page
Sec. 3—Mycenæan Chronology - - -	269
Conclusions indirect, but well grounded.—The later Mycenæan Age. The early Mycenæan (or late Minôan) Age.—Middle Minôan and early Minôan Ages.—Conclusions from above statements.	
Sec. 4—Homer and the Mycenæan People - -	278
Distribution of Mycenæan culture.—The Mycenæan Palace in Homer.—General features of Mycenæan culture.	
Chart showing Mycenæan Culture - - -	282
Sec. 5—Difficulties of Mycenæan Theory - -	287
Homeric method of Burial.—Cult of Olympian Divinities in Homer.—Questions regarding Material Civilisation.—Professor Ridgeway's Celtic theory of the Homeric people.—The 'fair-haired Achæans.'—Alleged Alpine habitat of Achæans : (<i>The Physique of the Homeric People ; The practice of Cremation ; The use of Iron ; The Brooch or Fibula ; Labialisation in Greek ; Other subsidiary Arguments</i>).	
Sec. 6—Some Hints towards Reconciliation - -	302
Possibility of constructing a 'via media.'—Extreme opinions which ought to be rejected.—The Principle of Contamination, not Interpolation.—Discrepancies which cannot be accounted for by post-Dorian Contamination.	

CHAPTER VI

THE EPIC ART OF HOMER

315

Difficulty of this part of our subject.—The character of Achilles.—The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* compared.—The Homeric Poems thoroughly Greek.—Dramatic element in Homer.—The Homeric similes.—Supernatural intervention.—Homer's love of nature.

INDEX - - - - -	325
------------------------	-----

List of Illustrations

PLATE	Facing Page
I.—BARD RECITING. (<i>Amphora in British Museum</i>)	Frontispiece
II.—SCENE FROM ATHENIAN SCHOOL LIFE. (<i>Boy reciting Lesson</i>) - - - -	30
III.—CODEX OF ILIAD. VENETUS A. (<i>1st page of Book XI., reduced, showing primary and secondary Scholia and Aristarchian Signs</i>) - -	54
IV.—PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 486 (<i>Il. xi. 502-38</i>). (<i>Actual size of fragment, indicating 5 new lines out of 36</i>) - - - -	55
V.—"SNOW-CAPPED OLYMPUS," FROM THE S.W. -	124
VI.—COMBAT BETWEEN HECTOR AND MENELAUS (<i>Il. xvii. 106 ff.</i>) (<i>Rhodian Pinax in British Museum, early sixth century</i>) - -	138
VII.—PORT VATHI, ITHACA, FROM THE S.W. -	180
VIII.—TYPES OF ANCIENT CHARIOTS. A.— <i>Egyptian or Assyrian</i> . B.— <i>Greek</i> . C. and D.— <i>Mycenæan</i> (<i>from Gems</i>) - - - -	234
IX.—ANCIENT FORMS OF VESSELS. A.— <i>Odysseus and the Sirens from Vase-painting</i> . B.— <i>Model of Boat in terra-cotta found in Cyprus, showing ἰσοδόκη</i> . C.— <i>Gold Model of Boat found in Egypt, showing use of paddle</i> - -	235
X.—Obverse—ANCIENT SEA-FIGHT FROM DECKED VESSELS. (<i>Vase found at Caere in Etruria, probably of the seventh century, B.C.</i>) Reverse— <i>The Blinding of the Cyclops</i> - -	236
XI.—GREEK CHARIOT OF LATER DATE. (<i>From Vase-painting—Gerhard. A. V. iv. 249</i>) -	237
XII.—THE LION GATE, MYCENÆ. (<i>As excavated by Schliemann in 1876</i>) - - -	244

PLATE	Facing Page
XIII.—ENTRANCE TO THOLOS-TOMB, MYCENÆ -	- 250
XIV.—GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM SHAFT-GRAVES, MYCENÆ. A.— <i>Frontal Band for Lady's coif.</i> B.— <i>Leg-piece for Gaiter (ἐπισφύριον ?)</i> C.— <i>Sphinx</i> -	251
XV.—THEATRICAL AREA AT KNOSSUS—Partially Restored (Excavated by Dr. A. J. Evans, 1903) -	- 254
XVI.—INLAID ROYAL GAMING BOARD—Restored. (Found in the Palace at Knossus, 1902) -	- 255
XVII.—MYCENÆAN GOLD VASES. A.— <i>Part of Design of Vaphio Cup.</i> B. and C.— <i>Vases found in Shaft-grave, Mycenæ.</i> D.— <i>Vase found in Shaft-grave, Mycenæ, showing Egyptian Design.</i> E.— <i>Nestor's Gold Cup (Il. xi. 632)</i> -	- 266
XVIII.—CHARACTERISTIC MYCENÆAN POTTERY (mostly Stirrup-vases). A.— <i>Schnabelkanne (or Beak-jug) found at Hissarlik.</i> B.B.— <i>Champagne-glass Vases.</i> C.— <i>Octopus Stirrup-vase.</i> D.— <i>Stirrup-vase found in Egypt</i> -	- 268
XIX.—SHAIRETANA WARRIORS, MEDINET HABOO (near Thebes in Egypt) -	- 272
XX.—A.— <i>Keftian (in Mycenæan costume), fresco in Tomb of Rechmara, Thebes.</i> B.— <i>Cretan, fresco in Palace of Knossus.</i> C.— <i>Cretan pithos.</i> D.— <i>Philistine, with feather headdress (temp. Rameses III.)</i> -	- 274
XXI.—A.— <i>One of the στήλαι found over the Shaft-graves at Mycenæ.</i> B.— <i>The Lion-hunt dagger-blade.</i> C.— <i>Signet with cult of Double Axe.</i> D.— <i>Model of Mycenæan Shield</i> -	- 286
XXII.—ARMING OF HOPLITES. (Showing later type of accoutrement) -	- 287

CHAPTER I

The Homeric Poems

§ 1. Introductory Survey of Homeric Poetry

THE Homeric poems mean for us the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and with them the readers of this 'Handbook' will be chiefly concerned. In Hellenic times, however, there existed a large body of literature which the Greeks themselves believed to be Homeric; works which are no longer extant with

**Object and limits
of introductory
Section.**

the exception of a few shorter pieces, most of which are still known as the *Homeric Hymns*. In this preliminary survey of Homeric poetry it will be necessary to give a brief outline of everything attributed to Homer in the largest sense, not merely for the sake of completeness, but because of some important sidelights which such considerations will throw upon the origin and the history of those masterpieces which it will be our chief business to discuss.

With regard to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it will suffice at the outset to give a few descriptive remarks which may help towards that single and comprehensive view of the poems which it is not easy on account of their length and complexity for the beginner to acquire, and without which he will hardly approach his subject with intelligence or zest. For although this book, as its title indicates, is chiefly intended for students of the Homeric text, yet even they will confine their reading at least for some time to portions, perhaps to single books, of one or other poem. So that it seems proper to give here some preliminary notions of the scope and spirit of the epics; while yet we have thought it better to reserve for our concluding chapter such

remarks as we have to offer in the way of more formal criticism of the epic art of Homer. Moreover, in this introductory Section we shall of course endeavour to steer clear of those theoretical and often warmly controversial topics to which large portions of a 'Handbook to Homer' must necessarily be devoted. The most therefore that we think of attempting here is a general and somewhat superficial description of the poems, or rather of certain important features of them which are calculated to interest the simplest mind, and with which the student of Homer, as he progresses in his reading, will become thoroughly familiar.

Our first task, then, will be to give a brief outline of the scope and spirit of the *Iliad* on both its human and divine side ; next to show that the *Odyssey* is contrasted with it in tone and feeling ; then to offer a few remarks on the *Hymns* and short pieces formerly accounted Homeric ; lastly to append a short description of the so-called *Cyclic* poems, which were both imitations of Homer and more or less vaguely attributed to him. The question of the true relation of Homer to the Cycle is one of great importance for our plan, and will be accordingly reserved for a separate Section immediately succeeding this introductory one.

Nothing, comparatively speaking, is of any account in the *Iliad* besides Achilles, and his story. Concentration of interest is of the essence of the epic, a principle which is nowhere better illustrated than in Homer.

**Main scope of
Iliad.**

Achilles is at once pathetic and magnificent, and his character is displayed in a plot which contains a deep and sustained interest. The story opens with the famous quarrel between Achilles and his chief, a quarrel which, while it signifies the passionate nature of the hero, also leads directly to the further development of the plot. In revenge for Agamemnon's high-handed conduct towards Achilles, he refuses to fight against the Trojans, and at once retires sullenly to his tent to watch the discomfiture which he foresees will overtake the ungrateful Achæans, his countrymen. Never will he come to their aid unless they are brought

to such a pass that the very existence of the army is in immediate danger. When things become critical, and even an important embassy comes to placate his wrath, he remains obdurate. At length his comrade and dearest friend Patroclus implores to be allowed to charge the Trojans in Achilles' own armour, to which arrangement he with difficulty consents. His affection for Patroclus is as intense as his other emotions, but it is one of the noblest and most dignified of all the features of his lofty but truly human character. Foreseeing that the enemy will be routed, he commands Patroclus not to pursue them far enough to bring his own life into danger. The young champion, however, disobeys his chief, and alas! pays for his temerity with his life-blood, falling supernaturally a prey to Hector, the chieftain of Troy.

The loss of his loved friend moves Achilles to wrath afresh and yet more majestically, this time against his lawful enemies. His armour is gone, but through the influence of his mother who is divine, the Fire-god forges him a new panoply and he marches forth to avenge Patroclus' death. Being now in his turn assisted by heaven he slays the slayer, who in vain beseeches of the conqueror that his corse may be respected, for Achilles shows himself once more iron-hearted. In his passionate longing for revenge he outrages the body of the Trojan—and yet in the end he relents when the aged Priam comes to his tent to implore the surrender of his son's dead body.

Such is the outline of the main plot of the *Iliad*, a story which is unexcelled in the literature of the world.

Thus the story of Achilles is presented as an episode in what is assumed in the poem to be a great event—or series of events—the Trojan War. We have here a worthy and a highly-coloured back-ground for the Epic; but we must beware of confusing the back-ground, which is essentially subordinate, with the genuine interest of the poem. The question of the organic unity of the *Iliad* cannot be discussed here: suffice it to state that in the poem, as it has reached us,

**Back-ground of
plot of *Iliad*.**

there are long portions which do not directly appertain to the plot ; although they do belong in some sense to its back-ground. These portions consist in great part of so-called *Aristeiai*; that is, of elaborate narratives illustrating the prowess of individual Achæan leaders, who, it is true, are never brought into direct competition with Achilles. In fact, it is the voluntary absence of the hero which gives an opportunity for his comrades to make a more striking exhibition of their prowess than would be normally possible.

Although individually the Achæan warriors are seldom if ever allowed to be worsted in the fight against their non-Greek adversaries, yet on the whole the development of the true plot demands that in the absence of Achilles the Trojans are highly successful, even to the point of attacking the ships of his own followers, the Myrmidons, with fire. The situation during the action of the *Iliad* supposes the Achæans to be in great difficulties. Here again we must never forget that this state of affairs is in itself wholly unusual. We find, for instance, in the poem that the Trojans are ranging, as a rule, freely through the plain between their city and the sea. But it is not so much stated, as taken for granted, that during the long period which has elapsed (for we are supposed to be near the end of the ten years' siege) the opposite was the case. The Trojans were usually cooped up within the walls, and if the city was not taken, it was on account of the strength of its walls which were divinely built, and also owing to divine intervention, rather than to any special courage of its human defenders. Thus the actual back-ground of the poem is in a very special way dependent upon its true epic plot, which entirely centres in Achilles.

We must now trace some of the main features of the celestial counterplot, which is of vital importance to the story. The favour of the gods is divided between the two sides in the human combat, so that the divine action accompanies and even controls the human, lending it a majesty and an awfulness not quite its own. The division of opinion among the gods is

**Counter-plot
formed by
the Olympian
Divinities.**

very artfully contrived. Hera, queen of heaven, Athena a peculiarly Greek conception of female divinity, are of course consistently on the Achæan side.

So is Poseidon, who had a very special and personal grudge against Troy. Quite naturally Ares and his paramour Aphrodite—whose cult had been imported among the Achæans probably from the East—take the adversaries' side. Apollo joins them, at least under the special circumstances of the plot, and this is accounted for at the outset of the poem by an insult offered to his priest. He is, however, in a most particular way associated with Zeus, and is chosen to carry out the behests of the Father of the gods. The really interesting problem is the attitude of Zeus. He cannot be painted as frankly un-Greek. Patriotism would forbid it, and morality—for *au fond* the cause of the Achæans is a just one, vengeance for a dishonoured wife. But Zeus holds the balance of power; like Apollo, he wavers in his allegiance to the Greeks, and for special reasons even favours Troy. His sympathies are with Hector for his piety,—and with Achilles as outraged by the Achæan Over-lord, Agamemnon. Lastly, this great god has one very human trait; he is most susceptible to the subtle influences of Aphrodite, and the firm attachment of his spouse Hera to the cause of the Achæans tends to put him on the opposite side. So that we find him during the poem continually befriending Hector and the Trojans; yet he is fully aware and even determined that in the end Hector, and by implication Troy, must fall, and thus the righteous get their own. Meanwhile this Trojan sympathy of the chief divinity helps to secure that another man, the injured hero of the poem, may continue to enforce his personal claim to justice.

It is perhaps difficult to compare the *Odyssey* with the *Iliad*, because the contrast between them is so extreme and may be considered from so many points of view. It is sometimes assumed that it depends on a mere difference of subject, the *Iliad* treating rather of War and the *Odyssey* of Peace. If we look a little deeper,

**Odyssey—how
contrasted
with Iliad.**

there is possibly a more fundamental difference—one of ideals, or of the ‘motif.’ Aristotle felt there was some such explanation when he called the *Iliad* παθητική, and the *Odyssey* ἡθική,¹ by which he apparently means that the *Iliad* depends for its interest on its external plot and action, while that of the *Odyssey* is rather as we say psychological. But in our remarks on the *Iliad* we have maintained that its interest centres round Achilles, his wrath with its effects, and his grief with its effects. If this is not psychology words have no meaning—though no doubt it is psychology in action. But the *Odyssey* is also full of action of the utmost variety without excluding πάθος of the most exciting kind.

Without, then, rejecting Aristotle’s ground for distinction between the poems, we may add a further explanation. The *Iliad* deals mainly (in the plot) with human passion, the *Odyssey* with human wit, intelligence and resource. And as passion carries with it more vital energy than calm thought, so the interest of the *Odyssey* is infinitely less thrilling than that of the grander poem. Perhaps after all Aristotle had some such feeling when he called the *Iliad* παθητική.

The plot of the *Odyssey* is, in its way, very absorbing and is worked out with consummate skill. Indeed there is felt to be an artistic finish in the *Odyssey* which is wanting to the longer and more loosely-compacted poem. The terrestrial action opens with the travels and adventures of Telemachus in search of his father, who should be on his return from Troy. Later on we are introduced to Odysseus himself, detained a prisoner by Calypso, and then to his own adventures chiefly told by himself. When at last he succeeds in getting back to Ithaca, we have only reached the middle of the poem, and the plot thickens for the hero has still to reckon with his enemies at home. These are the suitors of

¹ καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐκάτερον συνέστηκεν ἡ μὲν Ἰλιάς ἀπλοῦν καὶ παθητικόν, ἡ δὲ Ὀδύσσεια πεπλεγμένον καὶ ἡθική.—(Poet. ch. xxiv. 2).

Penelope, who has been driven to the last extremity in resisting their overtures, and in vainly endeavouring to control their unbridled insolence. A series of recognition-scenes and finally the destruction of the suitors brings about a happy ending; but the dénouement is over-elaborated, nor are the later portions of the poem by any means equal in sustained and varied interest to the earlier adventures of Odysseus.

There is a divine action in the *Odyssey* influencing the course of events, but the interference is not on the same scale of grandeur as in the *Iliad*.

Special features of *Odyssey*. Some of the divinities, notably Poseidon, for special reasons exhibit strong hostility to Odysseus, and in fact delay his return home, besides destroying all his companions. But the chief interest in the celestial plot (if it can be so called), hangs upon the patron-goddess and guardian of the hero, the ever-watchful Athena. This is interesting, inasmuch as the attributes of Athena are closely allied to the character of Odysseus. She is the very personation of intelligence and practical wisdom, being in fact by far the most spiritual of all the Homeric conceptions of divinity. Odysseus was, as it were, inspired as well as exteriorly protected by her, and the element of craft in his prudence is directly traceable to the influence of his tutelary deity.

Somewhat connected with this subject is the remarkable beauty and dignity of the female characters of the *Odyssey*, especially those of the matron Penelope and the sweet virgin Nausicaa. It is perhaps not too much to say that the popularity of the poem is largely due to this really wonderful feature. The whole episode of the visit of Odysseus to the Phæacians is told with the utmost animation. He is thrown up on the shore after ship-wreck; is discovered by the princess; invited home to her father's palace with the freedom and the delicacy of a fresh and healthy-minded girl; is royally entertained; betrays his personality by his own emotion when the fate of Troy is alluded to in song; and finally recounts all his adventures not yet made known to the audience or readers of the poem. These

scenes in fact constitute a poem within a poem, and strongly illustrate the beauty of the *Odyssey* and the deftness with which its episodes are woven into the main fabric of the epic.

But we cannot insist too much on the fact (which is more evident on the face of it than in the case of the *Iliad*, where it is also absolutely true) that the real power and value of the *Odyssey* depends not on the episodes considered as such, but on the personality, the action, the career, and above all the character of the hero of the whole poem. The thing should be too obvious to require insistence ; and yet we doubt whether it is unnecessary to call attention to it.

We have several shorter pieces which were, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, attributed to Homer in antiquity.

The so-called
Homeric
'Hymns.'

They are called Hymns,¹ because they are addressed to the gods and otherwise relate to them, but they are by no means uniformly devotional in character. They are also called *προοίμια* (preludes), and it has been generally maintained that they were composed by various rhapsodes as preludes to the recitation of Homer—the choice of the divinity being decided either according to the nature of the passage selected, or by external considerations such as the celebration of a particular festival, or at least the presence at the shrine of a god. If this is the case these productions, which may have been ostensibly extempore, gradually grew in length until they became more like distinct poems than mere preludes, and must in fact have been considered the principal part of the rhapsodical performance.²

But this theory has been very seriously damaged by the recent editors of the Hymns, Messrs. Allen and Sikes, who show³ that at least in some cases the poems in our collection hardly bear the character of preludes,

¹ Thucydides (iii. 104) quotes thirteen lines of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and twice mentions Homer by name as the author of the piece.

² So, Pindar says, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' αἰδοῖσι ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου.—*Nem.* ii. 1.

³ *Homeric Hymns*, Introduction, p. lxii., and in the individual introductions to Hymns 8, 11, 12, 17, 22.

and argue that in the longer Hymns the term Prelude was used in an applied and conventional sense without its proper meaning. They lay stress on the scholiast to Pindar (*loc. cit.*), who says that the real preludes to recitation of Homer were addressed to Zeus, or sometimes, to the Muses, which seems natural enough. However, Messrs. Allen and Sikes rely for their view partly on negative evidence and also on the assumption (which seems probable enough) that the greater Hymns of our collection would be somewhat out of place unless they were recited as substantial performances.

Of these greater Hymns there are four, namely, those to Aphrodite, Hermes, Demeter, and Apollo. But the Hymn to Apollo, which is nearly six hundred lines in length, is in all probability a combination of two distinct poems—one part, the shorter, celebrating the older cult at Delos the birthplace of the god; and the following part, the longer, which appertains to Pytho or Delphi, which became in later times the chief centre of the Apolline cult.

In all there are over thirty pieces; but the majority are short and fragmentary. Though far inferior to nearly all the Homeric poetry proper, the Hymns are by no means wanting in merit; they deserve, perhaps, to be more often read than they have been hitherto, a result which may follow from the new and very scholarly edition alluded to. We shall deal with the question of the date of the Hymns in the following Section.

At different times many sportive poems, more or less parodying Homer, were held in great popularity, and as they were in the metre, and in a sense in the style, of Homeric poetry, they came to be roughly classed as such.

Humorous pieces.

From the *Poetics* of Aristotle we gather that a poem called *Margites* from the hero was the most celebrated of its kind. He states that it was composed by Homer, and was moreover the germ from which comedy was derived just as tragedy was a development from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹

¹ *Poet.*, ch. iv. 9.

We know very little about the *Margites*; one line, however, which happens to be extant, tells us what sort of person its hero was :—

πολλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.

There is a much later parody of Homer extant, which has a good deal of spirit about it, and it may possibly give us some idea of what the earlier humorous pieces were like. This is the '*Myo-machia*,¹ "the Battle of the Mice" (with frogs). Our version, which seems to be nearly complete, has just over three hundred lines. It tells of the cause of the great Homeric fray, the drowning of a mouse by a frog, the war of vengeance, the frightful slaughter, and finally the intervention of Zeus in the most orthodox fashion. He determines to send Ares and Athena to ward off ruin from the frogs. Ares says it will be necessary for all the Olympians to descend to the earth, or at least that Zeus must use his thunderbolt. This he does but with very little effect, except to frighten the combatants of both sides; but finally he sends helpers in the shape of an army of crabs, who speedily end the battle, for,

οἳ ῥα μνῶν οὐράς, στομάτεσσιν ἔκοπτον
ἦδὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας, ἀνεγνάμποντο δὲ λόγχοι·

We now come to the so-called Cyclic poems of which there are only minute fragments extant, but which were very celebrated in antiquity, and around which, on account of their relation to the Homeric question, much interest revolves. Taken all together they must have comprised a vast mass of literature, and since some knowledge, more or less certain, of their real authorship has in many cases reached us, it can only have been in the vaguest sense, and (except among the ignorant multitude) doubtfully, that they were attributed to Homer. That they grew out of the Homeric poems and represent, along with other compositions,

**Poems loosely
attributed
to Homer.**

¹ Sometimes written at full length, but rather cumbrously, *Batracho-myo-machia*.

the decadence of the epic impulse, will be readily granted by those who have looked into the existing notices and fragments of the Cyclics. Our knowledge, indeed, does not extend much beyond the poems relating to the Trojan heroes, and thence called the *Trojan Cycle*.¹ But these were only one branch of the Cyclic poems. Another branch related to the Theban War, and it, too, was sometimes loosely attributed to Homer, nor did these even exhaust the store.

The poems which concern the student of Homer relate partly to the *Iliad* and partly to the *Odyssey*, and it will be convenient when describing their scope to consider the two classes separately. Our knowledge of both classes is derived through extracts from the *Χρηστομαθεία γραμματική* (which means something like *Treasury of Literature*) of one Proclus, who very probably lived about the middle of the second century, A.D.² The arguments of the poems are given mostly in the celebrated *Codex Venetus A*, which will be described, and one of its pages reproduced, in our Section on 'The Homeric Text.'

On the subject of the Trojan War, in addition to the *Iliad*, four poems were included in the Cycle, as follows :

**Cyclic Poems
connected with
the *Iliad*.**

1. The *Cypria*, giving events antecedent to the *Iliad*.

2. The *Aethiōpis*, from Hector's funeral (*Il.* xxiv.) to the death of Achilles,

and the contention for his armour.

3. The *Little Iliad*, from the last-mentioned event to the taking of Troy.

4. The *Sack of Troy*, on the same subject (partly) as the last, and sometimes regarded as belonging to it. It comes down to the departure of the Greeks from Troy.

The *Cypria* was a long poem in honour of Aphrodite retailing the part she took in bringing about the

¹ We reserve the discussion of this title for the next Section, entitled "Homer and the Cycle." Here we only propose to give some description of the poems.

² This is, however, matter of conjecture. What is fairly certain is, that he is not the celebrated Platonic philosopher (called Diadochus) of the fifth century, A.D.

war of Troy by inciting Paris to the abduction of Helen after the celebrated 'Judgment of Paris;' it also commenced the history of the war. The authorship of the poem is uncertain. The ancients knew very well that it was not really Homeric, though Pindar (doubtfully) quotes it as such. Herodotus plainly denies Homer's authorship, and Aristotle, who gives the substance of it, states that it is far inferior to the *Iliad* in the management of the plot.¹ The *Cypria* has been attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, supposed to have been a contemporary of Arctinus (the first Olympiad, 776 B.C.), but very little is known of him. There is, however, a story, evidently an accommodating one, that he was Homer's son-in-law, and that the poem was given to him as a marriage portion with his wife.

Of Arctinus, to whose authorship the *Aethiopis* and the *Sack of Troy* are both attributed, we know a little more. As indicated above he lived about 776 B.C., and he belonged to Miletus, the most important of the Ionian colonies. He was by far the best as well as the best known of the Cyclic poets, and he was thought so much of by the ancients that some of them placed him before Homer even in point of time. By others he was called a disciple of Homer, and there is reason to think that he was really a poet of some distinction.

The authorship of the *Little Iliad* is again uncertain, but it has been attributed to Lesches of Mitylene (who should have used the Aeolic dialect). In all probability he was two generations later than Arctinus, but there is a story of their having held a contest of poetry, which may be explained by the fact that their work to some extent overlapped, as both the *Little Iliad* and the *Sack of Troy* were intended as sequels to the *Iliad* of Homer, and treated, though differently, of the same events.

¹ See *Poetics*, ch. xxiii. There is, however, another passage in the fragmentary treatise not quite consistent with this, which leads some critics to suspect the genuineness of the passage referred to in the text.

The poems of the later portion of the Cycle are closely connected with the *Odyssey*. They are two in number :

1. The *Nostoi*, or "Returns" of heroes from Troy, like the *Odyssey* which gives a much-elaborated description of the return of Odysseus to his home in Ithaca.

**Cyclic Poems
connected with
the *Odyssey*.**

2. The *Telegōny*, or Sequel to the *Odyssey*, recounting the fortunes of Telegōnus, a son of Odysseus by the enchantress Circe. He kills his father, and, after visiting his mother, weds his step-mother Penelope.

The author of the *Nostoi*¹ was particularly uncertain, which may have been a reason why it was attributed to Homer. The later authorities, however, attribute it mostly to Agias of Troezen, of whom very little is known but who is said to have lived about 740 B.C. (or about a generation later than Arctinus and Stasinus). The *Nostoi* described the Returns of many of the Greek heroes, but more especially that of the two Atreidæ, whence it was also known as ἡ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν κάθοδος.

The author of the *Telegony* was believed to be Eugammon of Cyrene, who lived somewhere about two centuries later than the earlier Cyclics (*circ.* 570 B.C.). As far as we can judge it was altogether inferior, but it is worth remarking that the Cyclic poems, as such, were prized not for their literary merit, but solely for the mythology they contained.

Here our description will end, and we reserve for a separate Section the treatment of the important question: What is the real relation of Homer to the Cycle?

¹ It has been very plausibly maintained that the *Nostoi* was really a group of separate poems rather than a single one. It may be that originally this was the case, but we have no means of knowing definitely.

§ 2. Homer and the Cycle

By combining together the different elements already described, and inserting the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their respective positions, we get a com-

Poems included in Trojan Cycle. The *Iliad* comes immediately before the *Aethiopis*, and we are told by a scholiast¹ that certain copies of the former ended with an allusion to the arrival of the Amazons with which the *Aethiopis* opened. Thus instead of our reading (*Il.* xxiv. 804)

‘Ὡς οἳ’ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμιο,

they omitted the last word and added

ἦλθε δ’ Ἀμαζών

Ἄρην θυγάτηρ μεγάλῃτορος ἀνδροφόνιοι.

On the other hand, the *Odyssey* came after the *Nostoi* which led up to it, and before its sequel the *Telegony*. Thus we get the order :—

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. The <i>Cypria</i> , | B.C. 776 (Stasinus). |
| 2. The <i>Iliad</i> of Homer. | |
| 3. The <i>Aethiopis</i> | 776 (Arctinus). |
| 4. The <i>Little Iliad</i> | 700 (Lesches ?). |
| 5. The <i>Sack of Troy</i> | 776 (Arctinus). |
| 6. The <i>Nostoi</i> | 740 (Agias ?). |
| 7. The <i>Odyssey</i> of Homer. | |
| 8. The <i>Telegony</i> | 560 (Eugammon). |

It will now be necessary to look into this arrangement more closely, for from the relation of the genuine *Homer* to the rest of the Cycle a most important argument can be instituted regarding the probable date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, at least as fully developed epic poems. In the first place, then, our evidence for the existence of the *Cycle as such* is late. There are two conflicting views as to its origin. Some good authorities, as Welckler, would attribute it to the Alexandrian period : on the

¹ In the Brit. Mus. Townley MS. of *Iliad*.

other hand Monro¹ would bring it down much later, in fact well into the Roman period. In any case it is most probable that the grammarians originally formed a prose cycle of Mythology,² or a complete and continuous arrangement of the myths in their proper order; and that subsequent to this the demand sprung up for a collection of epic poems in a continuous form embodying the same mythological lore.

If this view is correct, the fitting together of the different sections of epic in the cycle was due not to the

**The Cycle a
result of
accommodation.**

original authors of the poetry, but to subsequent accommodation like that which we have already seen was practised on the end of the *Iliad* in certain codices (though this particular device was never adopted in the vulgate text).

With regard to the grave difficulties in the way of our assuming that the poems were originally intended to run together, K. O. Müller says very well,³ "In order to make such an interlacing of the poems comprehensible, we must suppose the existence of an academy of poets, dividing their materials amongst each other upon a distinct understanding, and with the most minute precision. It is, however, altogether inconceivable that Arctinus should have twice broken off in the midst of actions, which the curiosity of his hearers could never have permitted him to leave unfinished, in order that, almost a century after, Lesches, and probably at a still later date Agias, might fill up the gaps and complete the narrative." And besides this, which we may call the intrinsic absurdity of the supposition alluded to, there are other arguments against it. Proclus, to whom, as we have said, we owe our account of the Cycle, evidently speaks of only portions of poems, and not of wholes, for

¹ See *J.H.S.*, 1883, "On the fragments of Proclus' abstract of the Epic Cycle contained in the *Codex Venetus*," and § 3 of the appendix to *Odyssey*, xiii-xxiv., which is one of the most valuable portions of the volume.

² They had cycles of History also, and even of Oratory.

³ *Literature of Ancient Greece*, chap. vi., p. 67 (Lewis's Translation).

we have extant fragments of Arctinus and Lesche, relating to events which are not treated of by them in their respective parts of the Cycle. Again Aristotle practically enumerates the divisions of the *Little Iliad* in regard to its plot,¹ and several of these are necessarily omitted in the arguments of Proclus, because they would overlap with the work of Arctinus (the *Sack of Troy*) which was preferred to the *Little Iliad* by the compilers of the Cycle. Lastly, with regard to Arctinus himself there must have been selection (and consequent accommodation)—for the Cycle only included seven books from him (five of the *Aethiopis* and two of the *Sack of Troy*); whereas it is stated that his works ran to 9,500 lines, which ought to indicate twelve books at the lowest.

How, then, did the Trojan Cycle arise? Clearly it was a gradual growth, a sort of accretion around the original

**Origin of the
Trojan Cycle.**

Homeric poems. And we can trace the mental process which led to this. In our last Section we gave an outline of the *Iliad*. It chiefly concerns one hero and one single action. Many other heroes are introduced, so that we get our minds focussed on the Trojan War. After Hector's death and burial the epic closes: hence we are left in suspense, for we are told nothing about the fate of Troy, nothing except in the way of dark forebodings as to that of the chief actor, the swift-footed Achilles. It was almost inevitable that, as the *Iliad* became more and more popular and added ever fresh impetus to the epic inspiration, successive bards should endeavour to carry on the story. Many sequels may have been composed and have perished; those of Arctinus and Lesches (supposing them to be the authors of the poems in question), being highly reputed, survived. Now we find there was in the work of Arctinus, so far as our evidence goes, something of the spirit of the *Iliad*. At least the *Aethiopis* turns wholly on the same hero as

¹ See *Poet.*, ch. xxiii. 4. There is some difficulty about the reading, but this hardly affects the force of the argument.

² Aristotle draws attention to the unity of action of the *Iliad*, as compared to the later epics (*loc. cit.*).

the *Iliad*, and there is a certain largeness of design apparent in the plot, together with a marked originality of incident and freedom from servile imitation. Arctinus was, according to tradition, the oldest of the Cyclics, and according to Monro, "the tradition that he was a disciple of Homer is fully borne out by what we know of his work."

What more natural, seeing the success and popularity of these sequels of the *Iliad*, than that other bards should essay the task of composing—on the one hand an introduction to the same great epic; and, on the other,¹ a sequel to the *Odyssey* which also lent itself very favourably to the idea? With regard to the *Nostoi*, it has been remarked above that we do not know whether it was a single poem so much as a group of shorter pieces. From the *Odyssey*² itself we learn that 'Nostoi,' or ballads describing the Return of the Heroes from Troy, were recognised favourites among the listeners of the bards.

Here, then, we see the materials were at hand for the formation of a Trojan Cycle. Nothing more than judicious selection was required, together with a modicum of ingenuity in joining the sections into a continuous whole—just the sort of work to suit the Alexandrians or their successors. They did not care much about literary merit, and indeed were not good judges of it; so that the Cyclic poems often included inferior work, and by degrees the very term carried with it a reproach implying what was trite, mechanical, (in a word) decadent.

So far we have merely indicated roughly the tendencies that led to the formation of the epic Cycle. But it is necessary for our purpose to prove the truth of one part of the theory, namely, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* existed, at least as fully developed epics, prior to the composition of the Cyclics. This is the more necessary because, on specious rather than solid grounds the contrary has been maintained in recent times.

**Date of Homer
prior to the
'Cyclics.'**

¹ Notice the sequel to the *Odyssey* is considerably later than the other Cyclics.

² I. 326-52.

As we have not the text of the Cyclics but only very small fragments, we can hardly consider the question linguistically; but as we possess outlines of the subject-matter of the poems we can use a very good test, namely, that of mythological growth. It is easy to discern stages in the development of myths; and we can be absolutely certain that the *Cypria* which precedes the *Iliad*, equally with the poems which follow it in the Cycle, represents quite a notably advanced stage. Myths which became very celebrated in after times, and which are remarkable by their absence from the *Iliad* and even the *Odyssey*, are taken for granted in the *Cypria*. Among these are the apotheosis of the twin Dioscuri, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and above all the Judgment of Paris. In regard to the latter at least, it bears so strongly on the origin of the Trojan War that we can hardly believe it would be omitted in Homer, unless it were an after-growth.

But on the other hand the implied references to the *Iliad* in the Cyclics belonging to it, as also those to the *Odyssey* in the other two, are such as to leave no doubt that when the Cyclics were composed our Homeric poems were not merely in existence, but already held a commanding position in the world of poetry. Even in the *Nostoi*, which takes a more independent theme than the rest, many of the incidents are merely borrowed from the *Odyssey*, sometimes with the introduction of new details owing to the desire of the newer poet to improve on the old.¹

To go further into this interesting question would exceed our limits, but for a very satisfactory treatment of it, the student must be referred to the section in Monro's Appendix already named.² Among the criteria

¹ In one point Monro (p. 381) points out the *Nostoi* shows less development than we might have expected, namely, in regard to the prominent part taken by Clytemnestra in the murder of Agamemnon.

² One of Monro's minor arguments is, however, open to question, namely, that from rites of purification after crime. It is true that the idea is not Homeric; it is doubtful if we can assume that it is late (see G. Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 47).

of priority we may remark that direct quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur even among our scanty fragments of the Cyclic poems.

Finally there is no doubt that nearly all the Cyclic poems were popularly attributed to the same authorship as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, whereas we never hear of the latter being attributed to Stasinus, Lesches, Eugammon and the rest. The reason is because the latter were conscious imitators of the Homeric epics, both as to matter and style, and although their authors never intended it, it was inevitable that in an uncritical age the imitation should be identified with the reality, the dross mistaken for the pure gold.

Hitherto we have been simply maintaining the priority in date of our poems over the lost Cyclics; and it now remains to consider what light is thereby thrown on the actual date of what we call Homer.

**Conclusion
regarding date
of *Iliad* and
Odyssey.**

It would be out of place to anticipate what we have to say in a later chapter on the subject of the unity of authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. For clearness' sake, however, it will be better to point out now that if the composition of the poems was (as we shall later attempt to prove), gradual and even slow, there can be no such thing as a single date for their entire composition. But we are not prejudicing that question here, because we are dealing with the *latest* date, the date *before which* the poems must have existed as completed compositions. And we must make yet another distinction. We do not mean by *completed* that at the date we are undertaking to establish, the poems were already canto for canto, line for line, precisely in the form which they bear in our modern text. The antiquity of that text is another and a very different question; to which we shall have to devote a separate section of the present chapter. But we mean relatively, we might say organically, complete, in the sense that the poems were, as we have said, fully-developed epics, such as could gain a wide celebrity and become sources of inspiration to succeeding schools of poets.

Plainly in early times it would be quite compatible with such a view of an organised epic commanding a wide celebrity, to suppose that subordinate additions, even of considerable relative length (as for instance the 'Catalogue,' or a single *Aristeia* of the *Iliad*, or scenes of Recognition in the *Odyssey*), might very possibly be added by later bards.

With the above limitations, then, we hope the student will agree with us that our data point to a period not later than somewhere about the **middle of the ninth century, B.C.**, for what we may call the **substantial composition of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey.'** It must be seen that the above argument, if it has any force, demands their existence not merely at an earlier, but at a considerably earlier date than the poems which were imitations of them. If the reader will now turn back to our tabulated list of the Trojan Cycle, he will find that four of the poems, by three different authors, are all grouped about the First Olympiad, or within a generation of it; in other words not later than the middle of the eighth century. Naturally this evidence is to some extent mutually self-supporting. If it was a question of a single poem or even of a single name, we could not pretend the case would be a strong one. Even as it is, the argument if it stood alone, would not do more than establish a certain degree of probability.

But if we look further into the question, we shall see that there are several distinct lines of argument, all tending to corroborate the date we have put forward as the latest possible one. As the question is one of vital importance, we will briefly indicate these arguments.

Further corroboration of date of Homer (850-800 B.C.)

In the first place, when we turn our attention to the early beginnings of Hellenic as distinct from Homeric literature, we see in them a cogent though indirect reason for throwing back well into the ninth century the bloom of the Homeric epic. The schools of elegiac poetry in Ionia and of lyric poetry in Æolis took their rise at least in the early part of the seventh

century, and their existence certainly seems to postulate that the epic inspiration was on the wane, if it had not quite died away. But we know that there was a long period of epic decadence, not merely on account of the Cyclic poetry which has perished, but also from other extant poetry. For instance, let us take the case of the Homeric 'Hymns' which were described above. It is true that their dates cannot be fixed with certainty, but there is more dispute about the inferior limit than the superior. Many independent reasons put the latter at least as early as 700 B.C., for the Hymns to Demeter, the Delian Apollo and Aphrodite; and possibly they may, like the Cyclics, go back even beyond that date, well into the eighth century. Now, the difference between these and the *Odyssey* is well marked, especially in regard to the decay of the digamma.¹ Besides they are clearly imitative of the Homeric poems—one of them, that to Aphrodite, containing a very large proportion of lines or parts of lines which are evidently borrowed from Homer.

Therefore, although we could not certainly go back to the date for Homer which we mentioned above from the evidence of the Hymns taken alone, yet they have considerable importance as confirming the view of an early date.

The case of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod is perhaps stronger, inasmuch as this poem may be even earlier than the Hymns²; whereas the gap between the style of Homer and of Hesiod is so marked as to postulate a very decided interval. Hesiod represents the beginning of a new school of epic quite distinct from the Homeric, yet presupposing it. In language, in mythological ideas, in poetic ethos, he cannot be less than a century

¹ The point was worked out by Hartel. See *Hom. Stud.*, iii.

² Sometimes the ancients, as Herodotus, thought Hesiod was nearly as old as Homer: but he was never put later than the eighth century, B.C. We know something tangible about Hesiod, his individuality and his surroundings; but even were his personality wholly unknown, we could still argue from the probable date of the poetry ascribed to him.

later than the bulk of Homer.¹ The influence of Homer on Hesiod is most marked, as Professor Mahaffy has testified.²

If we look to the internal evidence of the Homeric poems, we find our belief in their substantial antiquity again confirmed. They must have received their existing outlines at a time not many centuries removed from the Dorian invasion and the great migrations, as they deal with a state of affairs prior to them, and they depended for their transmission not on written documents, but on oral tradition. To press this point would be impossible here, but its importance and its force will, we venture to think, dawn more and more on the reader's mind. For as he proceeds with his study he will come to realize what the age of the migrations involved in transforming the face of things—how utterly new was the Hellas which emerged from them and how unlike the civilisation of pre-historic times. So that in reality, in the hypothesis that the composition of the poems was largely subsequent to the migrations, it becomes difficult to explain the consistency of the bards in ignoring, for instance, the Dorians, and the new distribution of the Greek people which we know existed at the dawn of Hellenic history properly so called. However, this difficulty does not directly militate against our position, since we are not now maintaining that the poems were composed or even seriously modified *so late as* the ninth century—but merely that their substantial origin *must not be placed notably later* than this date. And our argument is simply that what is a difficulty for the date we mention would become practically an impossibility for a later one.

Lastly we have the express testimony of Herodotus.³

¹ This does not exclude Hesiodic influence from the latest additions to the Homeric *Corpus*. In particular the Catalogue is very probably the work of this later school of poetry.

² See his *Greek Classical Literature*, i. p. 119. Mahaffy, however, would put Hesiod a century later.

³ It would be beside the mark to argue that Herodotus was not clear as to what was really Homeric poetry; though he seems to have had a good idea of the difference between it and the *Cypria*. We are not now arguing as to the priority of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to the Cyclics, but taking it for granted.

He states with some emphasis that Homer lived *not more* than four hundred years before himself, a statement which, curiously enough, agrees very closely with the conclusion we are maintaining on general grounds. It may be objected that Herodotus is not a critical historian. But he is quoted here not so much because of the value of his own judgment, as because he indicates the current opinion of his time. Now, in a case of national poetry like this, the tradition is worth a good deal as to its general antiquity. Probably when controverting an earlier date, the view given by Herodotus as his own was also that of the better-informed Greeks, who were somewhat on their guard against the exaggerations of the populace.

We think on the whole the case for putting the authorship of the bulk of Homer not later than the ninth century, B.C., is quite satisfactory, and it is one on which scholars are much more unanimous than on most Homeric questions. The only difficulty of any real account is a linguistic one, which we shall deal with in the Section, "Our Homeric Text." But we shall now proceed to give some notes on the external history of the poems, much of which may help to throw an indirect light on the question of their substantial antiquity.

§ 3. The Poems among the Greeks

The early traditions about Homer in historical times were vague and have for us merely an indirect importance.

Traditional introduction of the Poems into Greece.

There appears to have been a consensus among the Greeks that they had derived the poems from the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, as indeed the dialects in which they received them would also suggest. One tradition attributed their importation into Greece to Lycurgus, who was reputed to have been King of Sparta about the first Olympiad, or 776 B.C. As, however, so many impossible things were related of Lycurgus, whose very existence has been (perhaps rashly) called in question by modern critics, this statement is not of much importance. Still, it testifies to a rooted belief in the great antiquity of the poems. Herodotus, as we have seen, confirms this by stating with some emphasis that the poems were not more than four hundred years prior to himself, as though combating a view that they were far older. This would bring them, roughly speaking, to a generation before the supposed date of Lycurgus. In considering this question it is necessary at the outset to point out that references to Homer need not *necessarily* apply to our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in any form, still less to the precise text which has come down to us. According to Herodotus, about a century and a half before his own date the tyrant of Sicyon, Cleisthenes, objected to the public recitation of the poems because they made too much of the city of his rivals, the Argives. This seems to point to the *Iliad*,¹ which makes the title 'Argive' synonymous with 'Greek,' and it seems to

¹ It is true that Grote and other critics deny this, and attribute the reference to the Cyclic poem the *Thebais*—a gratuitous and unnecessary assumption.

show that at the date in question, not merely was our Homer well known in Greece, but it already held an almost sacred character, insomuch that its recitation was a matter of political importance.

This public recitation was in vogue at Athens at an early date. According to the Platonic dialogue, *Hipparchus*,¹ the poems were introduced by

The Poems among the Athenians. the well known tyrant of that name, a son of Peisistratus. Other, and later,

authorities affirm that Solon at a still earlier date introduced the poems into Athens. Moreover, it is stated of both Solon and Hipparchus that they enacted that the recitation should be taken up in a regular order,² each rhapsode commencing to recite at the point where his predecessor had ended. It is plain that any such regulation, were it really made, would necessarily presuppose a form of the text more or less established by custom, at least with regard to the substantial sequence of the different passages.

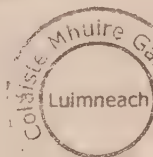
We must now turn to another important (alleged) event in the history of the poems at Athens, and that is the Recension stated to have been

The Recension of Peisistratus. carried out by Peisistratus somewhere about the middle of the sixth century, B.C. It has been the subject of much

controversy and is still a thorny topic. Wolf laid far too much stress on the statement of late authorities, such as Cicero and Pausanias, using them to prove much more than they asserted, namely, that the poems, prior to Peisistratus, had existed merely in the form of disconnected lays or ballads, and that it was he who gave them their epic form. It is admitted now that the notices we have about Peisistratus (even supposing them to represent a fact) would not bear out such a

¹ The authenticity of the *Hipparchus* has been and is justly controverted, but it is admitted to come from a contemporary of Plato, even if not by Plato himself, so its authority as testifying to current opinion will hold good.

² The phrase in Plato, or Pseudo-Plato, is ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς (*Hipparch*, 228 B.).



sweeping conclusion. At most all that the Athenian tyrant did was to settle the text of the poems, or it may have been that he merely organised their public recitation. One of the later scholia gives another form of the story, to the effect that Peisistratus appointed a commission of four scholars to do the work (whatever it was) and among these is mentioned Onomacritus of Athens, who was also accused of interpolating for political purposes. The charge had been brought against Solon or Peisistratus¹ by a Dieuchidas of Megara, that he had interpolated the lines about the Athenians in *Iliad*, ii. 557-8, which played an important part in the dispute between Athens and Megara relating to the possession of Salamis. The exact date of Dieuchidas is not known, but it fell probably within the classical period, and is therefore the earliest hint we have of any action taken by Peisistratus affecting the poems.

Monro, who argues² against the whole tradition regarding Solon, Peisistratus and Hipparchus, maintains that the Peisistratus story can be traced to a late epigram quoted in two of the spurious lives of Homer which speaks of Peisistratus as, "great in counsel, who cultivated Homer, formerly sung in fragments." No doubt the silence of Herodotus, Thucydides and Aristarchus on the subject of the tradition should make us regard it with a certain suspicion, more perhaps than the inconsistencies in detail regarding it which the reader will have remarked. Still it appears that as a rule our modern authorities hold that there is some grain of truth in the statements referred to, or at least that they testify to an existing belief among the Athenians that in the earliest times of which they had any clear recollection the poems were publicly recognised and had already an authority, and consequently a definite form of their own. We must also remember that negative arguments are apt to be fallacious.

¹ Plutarch, in the *Life of Solon* (§ 10), says that this charge was brought by most of the Megarian writers against Solon.

² In his *Odyssey* (xiii.-xxiv.) pp. 402; see also an important article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, entitled 'Homer.'

Around these names, as round the name of Peisistratus, theories have been built up starting from a slender foundation, and it may be useful to state here what is really known about them. Cynæthus was a Rhapsode, and the reputed author of the extant hymn to Apollo. His date is disputed, but a scholiast of Pindar says that he lived c. 504 B.C., and was the first to introduce the Homeric poetry into Syracuse. He, like so many other Rhapsodes, was accused of interpolating the text; and it is upon this, among other indications, that Fick's celebrated Aeolic theory has been founded, and the translation into Ionic Greek attributed to Cynæthus in the year 540 B.C.²

Antimachus was an epic poet who lived in the early part of the fourth century, B.C. He was thus an older contemporary of Plato, and was admired and cultivated by him, according to Plutarch and Cicero. His chief work was the *Thebais*, a poem of enormous dimensions, but (in spite of the praise of the Alexandrians) this was its only merit. What concerns us is that he was the earliest recorded editor of the poems, and although his version has not come down to us, there are traces of it in the extant remains of the great Alexandrian critic, Aristarchus, of which more later.

The public recitation of Homer at the festival of the Panathenæa, whether instituted by Peisistratus or at a later date, must have influenced the history of the poems, and very probably tended to fix an official text.³ The great festival of Athena being the most solemn of all those held at Athens, we may be sure

**The Poems
at the
Panathenæa.**

¹ More properly of Clarus, which was, however, a dependency of Colophon, after which he is usually called.

² See below, "Historical Outlines of the Homeric Controversy," chap. iii. p. 165.

³ There is considerable ground for the theory that the text known as the Vulgate, as distinct from special recensions and that which has mainly come down to us, was the text publicly recognised at Athens. See below, p. 63.

that all its contests possessed a sacred character. Great attention would be paid to the recitations to see that the most approved readings of the poems might alone be listened to by the assembled citizens. The comparative absence of allusion to Athens in the poems has always been regarded by critics as strong evidence that very little tampering with the substance of the poetry was admitted in Athens. We have seen that exception was taken by the Megarians to the passage in the Catalogue in which the Athenians are mentioned by name and connected with Salamis. On the other hand, it has been very plausibly maintained that such Atticisms as we find in our text may be due to the official recitation at the Athenian festival; for minute variations, often affecting merely the pronunciation of words, could easily creep into the recitation almost unconsciously, especially if we bear in mind that the poems were either wholly unwritten or (even after they were written down) were at least in great measure transmitted orally. And there is reason for believing that they were originally written in the Attic alphabet (a very different thing from the Attic dialect) although this was at an early date supplanted by the Ionic alphabet in Athens, except in the case of official documents.¹

The Homeridæ were a clan belonging to Chios, Homer's reputed birthplace, and one which claimed descent from him.

**The Homeridæ
and the
Rhapsodes.**

It is possible the poems were handed down among them before they were more widely known; but very little is known about the fraternity. The later Rhapsodes seem to have taken the name, and although doubt has been cast upon the assertion that the original Homeridæ were themselves Rhapsodes, yet it seems a very reasonable view and one which appears to have the authority of Pindar.² The Rhapsodes have been

¹ See *History of Greek Literature* by Gilbert Murray, pp. 18-19. He speaks of explicit statements to this effect by the Alexandrians.

² He speaks of Ὀμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοί,—*Nem.* ii. 2.

already mentioned in connection with Athens, Syracuse, and Sicyon, as well as Chios, and in the sixth and fifth centuries they were fairly spread through Greece, still being in all probability organised in clans or guilds.

They were mostly it seems Ionians, and Plato, in the striking picture he gives of a Rhapsode of his own time, calls him by the apparently generic name of Ion.¹ From this description we learn that the art of the Rhapsode was a truly dramatic one, which (like the dramatic art proper of the time) was practised in the form of competition for prizes, a circumstance which must have heightened the interest for the spectators. Plato first brings out all the professional vanity of the man, and then banteringly declares that he must be, like the poet himself, inspired—and that although he derives his inspiration directly from Homer, yet he is in truth like him possessed by the god. In Plato's time the Rhapsodes were perhaps, like the Sophists, in their decadence, for Xenophon speaks very depreciatingly of them.² All the same they represented a former generation of true poets, who not merely recited but to some extent improvised their own poetry. Homer himself bears witness in the *Odyssey* to a professional class of *δοῖδοί*, who used (like the Celtic minstrel in later times) to sing their own heroic ballads of the Trojan war, and we may be fairly secure in assuming that first the Homeridæ, and later the Rhapsodes, were the representatives in a more or less unbroken line of the original Homeric bards. In later times they did not sing the poetry; instead of the harp they carried a wand³ to mark their professional dignity. We have seen that hymns like our Homeric Hymns were composed as introductions for such recitations, but this

¹ In the dialogue of that name.

² In the *Memorabilia* (iv. 2, 10) he makes Euthydemus remark that they "know a great many verses by heart, but are absolutely wanting in good sense."

³ Their name has been variously derived from *ῥάβδος*, a wand, and from *πάνω*, to stitch or fasten together.

implies a practice which can hardly have been in vogue at the later periods when each reciter was bound to take up the thread of the poetry when his predecessor had dropped it. It has been maintained,¹ with great ingenuity, that many of the sutures and inconsistencies in our text of Homer may be due to its being rhapsodised, or broken up into shorter passages suitable for a simple recitation.

In order to understand the influence exercised over the Greek mind by the Homeric poems, we need only advert to the place they held in the Greek system of education. Nothing else had any place in

Homer in Greek Education.

comparison with them. Reading, writing, dictation, above all memory lessons, were largely confined to Homer, though not to the exclusion of the other poets, as Hesiod, Simonides, and Theognis. It was not uncommon for a Greek boy to know both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart.² And the educational use of Homer was not confined to mere mechanical repetition. The scholars were required to recite the epic poets before their master and fellow-scholars, paying special attention to a proper pronunciation and grace of action, just as they learnt also to sing the lyric poets correctly and intelligently. But more than this. Homer was taught in school as the one great authority on all that regarded Greek religion, history, and patriotism, not to say as the chief source of knowledge on most other subjects. From an early period there had been a tendency to interpret Homer in a more or less unnatural way, just as more modern authorities used to have recourse to the theory of sun-myths and other nature-myths to explain the story of Achilles and Homeric lore generally. Thus, as Wolf remarks, the allegorising school used "by their interpretation to correct the fabulous element in Homer and to accommodate it to the physical and moral teaching of their own age, and to distort history and everything else to

¹ By Professor F. B. Jevons in *J.H.S.* for Oct., 1886.

² See Xenophon, *Symposium*, iii. 5.



PL. II.

SCENE FROM ATHENIAN SCHOOL LIFE.

(*Boy reciting Lesson.*)

the involved and artificial ideas of their own scientific system.”¹

In spite of all such attempts to tone down what appeared to be the crudities of Homeric ideas to suit the mind of a more advanced epoch, there were protests, even before the age of Pericles, against the epic poets as a vehicle of instruction for the young. For instance, Xenophanes of Colophon, who probably lived at the end of the sixth century² was known as the castigator of Homer, for he complained of him, as well as of Hesiod, that he “imputed to the gods all that among men is shameful and blameworthy (*ἀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος*), as theft, adultery, and mutual deceit.”

Even Thucydides tries to explain away in Homer whatever was too marvellous for his readers to accept. In the introduction to his First Book he treats the account of the Trojan war as true history, defends it from objections, and at the same time endeavours to explain it on what appear to him to be rational principles of criticism.³

Plato's attitude towards the poets may be regarded as something of a puzzle. He has the utmost reverence for Homer as truly inspired; he

Plato's attitude towards Homer. calls him divine, and quotes him most frequently as a final authority. His

fine imagination brought him, perhaps, more than any other Greek mind under Homer's spell—we can trace the influence in his treatment of the deepest truths, and especially in his love of the Myth to express more than mere philosophy can convey. And yet when he comes to treat of poetry (and chiefly Homer's) as a vehicle of education, he is inexorable. The poets must go! the Ideal State must be purified from their baneful influence! He is as condemnatory

¹ *Prolegomena*, § cxxxvi.

² His date is uncertain and has been the subject of much controversy—but cannot have been later than the one mentioned above.

³ This system of rationalising Homer was carried to the greatest length by Euhemerus, a Scicilian of the fourth century B.C., after whom it is sometimes named.

of Homer's style as of his statements about the gods and heroes. The style is bad because (and this is to us moderns one of its chief merits) it is so dramatic. In other words, it rests on imitation which is the foe to all reality.

To believe that Plato is not to be taken seriously is impossible. If he is not serious here, he is never so. But it is another thing to say that he expects his rule to be carried into practice. He is laying down abstract principles of government and education, and that at a time when his soul is smarting under a sense of the evils of extreme democracy. He knew Athens from within, and saw her weak points—and knowing Sparta only from a distance, believed that the Spartan spirit and the Spartan training was better. So he drew his picture of the Ideal State on Spartan lines, and in his enthusiasm for his brand-new and superior training of the citizen-soldier, he did not hesitate to eliminate from his ideal system the teaching of Homer along with other familiar features of Athenian education.¹

Scientific criticism of the Homeric text, or the attempt to arrive at a genuine version of the poems, was unknown in the so-called classical era. It was after the Greek nation had ceased to have an independent existence, but when the conquests of Alexander had carried the Hellenic tongue and civilisation throughout the known world, that men commenced to reflect on the treasure that had been committed to them and to take measures to preserve it and set it in order. Nearly all the existing Greek MSS. (said to have been about 700,000 in number) were collected in the great royal library of Alexandria, and there new schools of literature arose. The Alexandrians did not, it is true, effect creative or original work; they confined themselves to the humbler tasks of the critic, the

**Foundation of
textual
criticism of
Homer.**

Foundation of textual criticism of Homer.

¹ The important contributions of Aristotle to Homeric criticism and his treatment of Plato's daring proposal need not be discussed here. His views have been referred to above, chap. i. § 1, and further references will occur; see especially "Epic Art of Homer," chap. vi.

grammarian and the lexicographer; but the debt we owe them is immense, and not least in the department of Homeric culture. Three successive librarians of the Ptolemies in the third and second centuries, B.C., all of them men of solid learning and a certain real discernment, devoted themselves to the task of settling the Homeric text; and at least two of them wrote important treatises on its meaning, thus laying the foundation for the later structure of scientific criticism of Homer.

The most important of this trio was he who also came last, the great Aristarchus; but before giving details of his work it will be necessary to premise something about his predecessors, Zenodotus and Aristophanes.

Zenodotus of Ephesus became chief librarian at Alexandria about the year 280 B.C., not much more than half a century after the death of **The Forerunners of Aristarchus.** Aristotle. He set to work to collect "the poems of Homer and of the other most celebrated poets (*illustrium poetarum*)."¹ He made a recension of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which had the greatest celebrity, and entitled him to be termed the first διορθωτής of the Homeric text. The peculiarity of his criticism was its tendency to rashness in marking verses as spurious, or even omitting them, on insufficient and wholly subjective grounds. For this practice even the ancients blamed him and it was certainly a defect, but something should be forgiven to a pioneer in a new department of knowledge. It is not quite certain that Zenodotus wrote a regular commentary on the poems, but he wrote a treatise on the Homeric meaning and use of words which he called γλῶσσαι (from which we get the term 'glossary'). The explanations of certain passages which later writers attribute to him are taken (according to Wolf) from the Glossary.

¹ The exact denotation of this expression has been disputed—it is not clear whether it applies only to the epic or also to the lyric writers. Anyhow he devoted himself to all the poems of the epic cycle, of which he made a complete collection.

Aristophanes of Byzantium ruled the Library towards the end of the same (the third) century, B.C. He was also an eminent scholar, but his celebrity is somewhat eclipsed,¹ owing to his falling between the first and the greatest of the Homeric scholars of Alexandria. He, too, edited the poems, and he was much more conservative in his taste than Zenodotus.

We now come to Aristarchus, who flourished in the earlier half of the second century, B.C. He gained a celebrity which has been compared to that of Aristotle; yet there is a considerable difference of opinion, and indeed warm controversy, about his merits and achievements in the field of Homeric criticism. We certainly owe much to him, as will be made clear in another section of this chapter, though not perhaps quite in the way that has been often believed.

**The linguistic
labours of
Aristarchus.**

All that we propose to do here is to give a very brief conspectus of his work. We may for convenience distinguish between his linguistic labours, or those concerned with the textual criticism of Homer; and his more general treatises, which were equally important in their own way.

There is considerable doubt as to the number of ἐκδόσεις (editions) of the text which Aristarchus made; and even a doubt has been raised as to whether he really edited the text at all. However, the prevailing opinion, founded on the scholia, is that he edited the text twice. His methods have also been called into question. There is little reason to doubt that on the whole he was conservative, and averse from arbitrary emendation, though if he found any MS. authority for a reading which he liked, he felt free to adopt it. He collated about fourteen different versions, seven of these being versions

¹ He is perhaps best known as the originator of Greek accents, which he invented to preserve for his successors the true pronunciation, and certainly without success.

² For instance Wolf, and many others since him, was led into error regarding the influence of Aristarchus on our Homeric text.

which had been in use in various states (ἐκδόσεις κατὰ πόλεις) and the rest being versions of individual editions (κατ' ἄνδρα) including that of Antimachus to which we have already referred;¹ and made it a very special aim to purify the vulgate text from what he believed to be interpolations. For erring on the side of caution, as well as for his method of grammatical commentaries, he was attacked by his contemporaries, and very bitterly by Crates, the leader of a rival school of criticism which had sprung up at Pergamum, in Mysia. Here, too, there was a great library of which Crates, like Aristarchus at Alexandria, was in charge.

The school at Pergamum was far inferior to that of the Alexandrians—their work being infected by the design of spreading the philosophy of the Stoics, to which they adhered. Aristarchus called his chief book on Homeric language *περὶ ἀναλογίας*, signifying that he was on the look out chiefly for the *analogies* or ordinary usages of the Homeric vocabulary. Crates replied in a work entitled *περὶ ἀνωμαλίας*, hinting that the proper method was to seek for what is *anomalous*, or exceptional, in the language of Homer. The controversy was carried on with a certain acerbity, but it may have been useful in drawing the attention of the learned to points which would have been otherwise overlooked.² Aristarchus did good work in pointing out the peculiarities of the Homeric diction in point of meaning. Thus, he noticed that φόβος is used in the sense of *flight* rather than *fear*; βάλλειν of *wounding from a distance* only; that τάχα does not mean *perhaps*; that φράζω means to *show* rather than *to say*; that ἥρωες refers not to all the *warriors*, but solely to *kings*. Besides which he drew attention to grammatical idioms which are peculiarly characteristic of the poems.

Aristarchus by no means confined his researches to linguistic study. He dealt, in a peculiarly scholarly

¹ See above, p. 27.

² After the great fire in Alexandria, 47 B.C., which destroyed nearly all the great treasures of the Library, the scholars were much indebted to their rivals at Pergamum for authentic copies of the great editions which had been burnt.

**His treatment
of Homeric
questions in
general.**

way, with the subject matter of the poems; throwing light on their geography, history, mythology, and generally on the interpretation of Homer. Many points which are commonplaces to the moderns were first remarked by his sagacity. For instance, he first pointed out that Ἄργος Πελασγικὸν means Thessaly, and Ἄργος Ἀχαιικὸν the Peloponnese; and he remarked the important differences revealed in the poems as to the contrast between the customs of the Homeric heroes and those of Hellenic life; the absence of coined money; marriage customs in regard to ἔδνα; the ritual of sacrifice; the roasting of food only, though boiling was used for other purposes; and similar points which our commentaries are constantly treating of. Not even the question of Homeric armour—a thorny one for us—escapes his attention. And it must be remembered we have only stray jottings from his work, not his commentaries in their entirety.

One point for which Aristarchus deserves the fullest credit was the attitude he took up in opposition to the Pergamum school regarding the allegorical system of interpretation, which was only beginning in his time, but was afterwards carried to the most absurd lengths and with remarkable persistency. If we remember that Homeric scholarship was only one of the many spheres of the activity of Aristarchus, we shall recognise that he possessed a truly great mind, and that he deserved the reverence which was paid him by future generations, even though it was undoubtedly expressed with exaggeration.¹

The critical signs (σημεῖα) which Aristarchus used for drawing attention to certain portions of the Homeric text may be here described, especially as they are often referred to in modern editions of the classics, and moreover, still exist (though without their original

**The critical
signs of
Aristarchus.**

¹ For instance, a Scholiast on Homer observes that Aristarchus must be followed in preference to other authorities, even though the latter be right. He was called a μάντις to express his felicity as a critic.

meaning) in our literature generally. The signs were invented by the Alexandrians, and although not peculiar to Aristarchus (for they were partly in use before his time and were added to by his successors), are usually connected with his name on account of its celebrity. The code which he adopted included the following marks:—

1. The $\delta\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, or spit (—) was used sometimes to indicate that one or more verses are spurious. We sometimes use the dagger (which is the same thing) for this purpose, though brackets are more common.

2. The $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\eta$ (>) was used to mark anything in a line of note regarding grammar or Homeric usage; in other words, to draw attention to something in the commentaries.

3. This mark when dotted, $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\eta$ περιστιγμένη (\times) merely indicated that Aristarchus differed from Zenodotus in his view of a passage.

4. The $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ($\cdot\times\cdot$) indicated a repetition of a line from elsewhere, and might be used in conjunction with the $\delta\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, in case a repetition was thought to be interpolated. There were one or two other $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, but of less importance than these. Mr. T. W. Allen has informed me that the significance of the $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is often misunderstood. They were chiefly used to warn the reader to refer to commentaries.

The various treatises of Aristarchus have not reached us directly, and all we know of his teaching comes to

us in rather a peculiar way, namely,

The work of through compilers of his school, who
Didymus and lived more than a century after him,
'The Epitome.' at the very end of the Alexandrian

period. The most important of these is Didymus, called the Brazen¹ on account of his indefatigable industry, for he is said to have written works to the number of 3,500! However this may be, a quantity of the Homeric scholia in our MSS. were drawn from his writings. He undertook to collect into a single treatise the views of the great master on

¹ Literally 'of the Copper Guts.'

the Homeric poems ; probably because the Aristarchian criticism was spread over a vast quantity of literature, some of which, moreover, may have been injured or lost in the fire alluded to above. This work, *περὶ τῆς Ἀριστάρχου διορθώσεως*, was at a later period still (about the third century, A.D.) combined with similar but far less important works,¹ into what was called *The Epitome*, and it is this work which has reached us—though only in a fragmentary condition. Therefore, what we have is not properly the commentary of Aristarchus on Homer, but extracts from commentators on Aristarchus as Homeric commentator. Yet the truth remains that the publication of the scholia from *The Epitome* was the greatest event in the history of Homeric scholarship.

As we shall have to give a somewhat full account of the views of Aristarchus and of his influence on our text,² we need not deal further with the question here. Suffice it to say that the importance attributed to the Aristarchian criticism depends in great measure on the knowledge it gives us of the editions which he used, some of them being certainly as early as the fifth century, B.C.

The division, with which we are so familiar, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into twenty-four books each did not belong to the poems originally. On the contrary the ancients always quoted them according to the subjects treated in their respective parts, and the divisions they recognised were not quite the same as our books. Thus they called our first book of the *Iliad* the *Δοιμός* and the *Μῆνις*: the second book the *Ὀνειρος* and the *Καταλογος*; whereas the fifth and sixth books together were known as the *Διομήδεια*. And so with the *Odyssey*. It is supposed that these titles generally, though perhaps not in every case, corresponded to a division of the poem which would be suitable for a

**The arrangement
of the Poems
in Books.**

¹ These were the treatise (1) of Aristarchus upon the *σημεῖα*; (2) that of Herodian on prosody and accentuation; (3) that of Nicanor on punctuation.

² See below, § 5 of this chapter, entitled "Our Homeric Text."

single recitation or rhapsody. This may be fairly taken for granted, whether we maintain that the epic was prior to the rhapsody, which was as it were carved out of the larger mass of poetry—or hold (with Wolf, Croiset, and others) that the rhapsodies were composed first in their own form, and were afterwards agglomerated into the epic.

The division into books was due to the Alexandrians whose special delight it was to arrange their literature in a more artificial form than they acquired it. This particular settlement was older than Aristarchus, and may very probably be due to the hand of Zenodotus.

§ 4. The Homeric Dialect

The question of the Homeric dialect is one that will demand close attention. It contains many difficulties and may appear uninteresting to the beginner, but it goes to the very root of Homeric criticism, and may probably contain the key to the mystery which surrounds the poems. Moreover, the learner will find himself repaid by a study of conflicting theories regarding the dialect of Homer; for any conclusions that can be reached, even of a partial nature, will pave the way to the knowledge of Homeric grammar which is required for reading the poems intelligently. Hence if the present Section appears uninviting, it may still be mastered, if for no other reason, at least with a view to making the one on Homeric grammar less repulsive.

The so-called epic dialect is essentially composite and that in more ways than one. It represents different dialects, and different stages of the same dialect—being, no doubt, the result of the gradual growth of language partly but not wholly arrested by the tendency of the epic bards to use traditional forms of poetic speech. The complicated nature of the dialect, its enormous variety of forms for expressing the simplest ideas, would of itself lead to the above conclusion, even if this could not be tested, as it can be, by the science of comparative grammar. On the other hand, the theories relating to this branch of our subject are very numerous and confusing, and there are many points on which it appears at present impossible to arrive at a certain conclusion. It will be our endeavour chiefly to state the facts which appear fairly certain, and with regard to theories merely to point out those which, even though they cannot be certainly proved, yet do to some extent provide a rational and consistent explanation of the facts.

About one thing there can be no doubt regarding our

existing text; and that is, that it consists *mainly* of Ionic

**Old-Ionic forms
the prevailing
element.**

Greek of a very early date. That it is an Ionic dialect will become plain if we compare it with Herodotus, whose prose is the purest extant model of the Ionic

of the fifth century, B.C., and a very few points of comparison will suffice. We may note the dropping of the temporal augment, especially before double consonants and diphthongs (as ἔρδον, αἶρεε,) and in pluperfects; plural terminations like -όλατο, -ήατο, etc., which are peculiarly Herodotean; the use of the iterative forms, which are found much more frequently in Homer even than in Hesiod; the forms ἦα, ἦε, ἦσαν, which are common to Homer and Herodotus. That the Homeric speech is on the whole archaic cannot be denied, although the close correspondence of many forms with those of Herodotus has led Professor Sayce to maintain, that parts of Homer ought to be classed as New-Ionic, as containing forms which are not merely as late as but even later than Herodotus.¹ We shall refer to this later: meanwhile it is enough to point out that the existence of a few late forms in our MSS. of Homer cannot weigh against the general character of the language as evidenced by structural or syntactical considerations. We may take it, then, for granted here that the Homeric dialect is on the whole archaic, and that it is also (in its present form at least) mainly Ionic is an evident fact quite outside the region of controversy. We will now approach ground which is much more debatable, and in fact supplies matter for the principal modern controversies regarding the origin of the poems.

The presence of Aeolic forms in Homer as a fact has been recognised from time immemorial, but in compara-

**Aeolisms in
Homer—Fick's
theory.**

tively recent times Fick has given them a new significance. It would be out of place here to deal with Fick's theory at length, as it will turn up in

¹ For instance, he gives the form ἐῖπδανε as later Ionic in *Il.* xxiv. 25, and even ῥῖπδανε in *i.* 24, etc., whereas Herodotus has the more primitive ἐάυδανε. See appendix by Prof. Sayce, in Mahaffy's *History of Greek Literature*, i. (part i.), p. 267.

another connection : suffice it to say that he maintains that the poems (or rather the earlier parts of them) were originally composed in Aeolic Greek. Our task in the present instance is merely to indicate a few of the leading cases of supposed Aeolisms in our text. We shall not pretend to be exhaustive, but can easily name a sufficient number to enable the student to be on his look-out for instances when reading the poems. Many so-called Aeolisms are subject to controversy, so we shall try to confine ourselves to the clearer instances, under which we may include :—

I. Inflexional forms.¹

i. The genitives in -*āo*, -*āων* (which in Ionic are always -*εω*, -*εων*). Ἀτρεΐδ*āo*, νυμφ*āων*.

ii. The nominative of 1st decl. in -*ǎ* for -*ης*, as νεφέλη-γερ*έǎ*; also the form νύμφ*ǎ* as vocative; and especially the form θε*ά* (which is always θεός, even as fem., in Ionic).

iii. ἔμμεναι, of which the Ionic form, probably quite as primitive, is εἴμεναι. This is merely an instance; there are many other verbal forms, though not occurring so often.

iv. The pronominal forms ἄμμες, ἄμμι(ν), ὅμμες, ὅμμι; also ἐγών and ἔμεθεν. (These are particularly important.)

II. Special forms of words.

i. Owing to substitution of one consonant for another, πέμπε for πέντε (seen in πεμπάζεσθαι, *Od.* iv. 412, 'to count by fives'). So πίσιρες² for τέσσαρες; similarly φ is substituted for θ in φλίψεται = θλίψεται³ (according to Codex A and Zenodotus, though not in Aristarchus, or the received text); also φήρ for θήρ.

¹ The argument from inflexions (on account of their tendency to variation) cannot of *itself* be considered decisive, but it certainly lends additional weight to other arguments.

² Even Sittl admits that this form must be accounted Aeolic, and is driven to the suggestion that it was borrowed by the Ionian Greeks in commercial intercourse. Is not this very like special pleading?

³ In *Od.* xvii. 221.

ii. Owing to substitution of ϵ for α before ρ as $\Theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (*cf.* $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$); so $\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (Cod. A) for the vulgate $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$. Other proper names like Ναυσικᾶα show an Aeolic cast.

iii. Other vowel substitutions; $\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ for $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$; $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\delta\iota\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\delta\iota\varsigma$.

iv. The use of $\kappa\epsilon\nu$ ($\kappa\epsilon$) for $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, which is very common in Homer, especially in the *Iliad*, is claimed by some authorities as an Aeolism, but the point is very doubtful.¹ It is also uncertain whether these two particles have the same or different derivations.

III. Special words.

i. Adjectives beginning with $\xi\alpha$ -, as $\xi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\alpha\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\xi\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, inasmuch as this prefix is the Aeolic form for $\delta\iota\alpha$ -.

ii. Forms like $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\varsigma$ = a year, and forms like $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\mu\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, a word probably connected with $\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

It used to be formerly supposed that the digamma was peculiar to Aeolic Greek—a view which has been long exploded. It was an original sound in all Indo-European languages: traces of it occur in Latin, German, and English no less than in Greek. It is true, indeed, that the Aeolic and Doric dialects (which are in some respects allied) retained the digamma longer than Ionic and Attic Greek, and consequently it is found very commonly in inscriptions written in the former, but hardly at all in the latter, dialects. The widespread occurrence of this sound in the Ionic dialect of Homer is therefore an evidence, and a very important one, of the antiquity of the Homeric poems;² but we cannot now think of seeing in the occurrences of the digamma a proof of Aeolism. There is, however, a phenomenon occurring a few times which is distinctly Aeolic, and that is what has been called vocalization of the digamma, or the substitution for it of the vowel υ . Instances of this are the

Traces of the Digamma.

¹ See Monro, *Hom. Gr.*, p. 269, where he takes the negative view, in opposition to Hinrichs and others whom he quotes.

² With a single doubtful exception of a Naxian inscription of the sixth century, there is no trace of the digamma in Ionic Greek after the seventh century. There is indirect proof of it in the eighth century, B.C. See Monro, p. 309.

forms, *παλαῦριος* = *ταλαφρινος*; *εὔδαδε* = *ἔφαδε*; *καλαῦροψ* = *καλα* (an uncertain form) and *ρφέπω*; *αἰέρουσαν* = (probably) *ἀνφέρουσιν* for *ἀνφέρουσιν*; and a few others. With regard to the form *εἰκοσι* for *φείκοσι* (*cf.* viginti), it is uncertain whether it represents an Aeolism or not. Fick claims it, believing that the *F* was changed into *v*, and then into *ε*, but this assumption has been challenged by Sittl, who is opposed to Fick's theory. Jebb, following Sittl, explains the form by false analogy.

On the whole it seems quite reasonable to admit that there is a clearly-marked Aeolic element in Homer. The fact that many forms have been doubtfully or wrongly classed as Aeolisms does not justify scepticism on the main question. The argument put forward by Sittl, Christ, Hinrichs, and others, on the negative side, appeals to our ignorance of the earliest form of the Greek tongue before the specialization of dialects, and argues that the alleged Aeolisms may be merely *archaic* forms which were originally common to all dialects, and have been lost in later Ionic, but occur in Homer because they did belong to Ionic at an earlier stage of its growth. There is always a vagueness about arguments of this kind which makes them somewhat difficult of refutation. But the fact is we have a body of lyric and elegiac poetry (mostly fragmentary) written in the Ionic dialect, and reaching back to the earlier half of the seventh century, B.C.,¹ about one century later than the end of the Homeric period. This poetry is free from all trace of Aeolism, though it reappears (according to Fick from imitation) at a later period. If, indeed, in the Homeric poems, there was a question merely of one or two isolated forms, we might hesitate as to drawing any certain conclusions; but a large number of independent indications of what appears to be a clear Aeolic element, gives a strong case which a mere negative argument cannot entirely weaken. And the view we have here advocated is, to a great extent, admitted by scholars, though they may, and

¹ The period of Archilochus is fixed by a fragment in which he refers to the wealth of Gyges, whose date again is fixed within a few years of 650 B.C. by Assyrian inscriptions.

indeed do, disagree in their explanations of it.¹ The whole subject was treated well by Professor G. C. Warr.² He suggested an argument from the metres of the Lesbian school as compared with the Homeric hexameter, which is extremely ingenious, but too subtle for discussion here.

The absence of Doric forms, on the other hand, is to be carefully marked. It is true that there are certain

**Absence of all
trace of
Dorism.**

forms as ἑσσεύεαι, τύνη (for τυ), etc., which have been claimed as Dorisms, but in the case of these forms (in contradistinction to the frequent Aeolisms treated of

above) there is positive and direct evidence that they are merely archaic forms, slightly if at all differing from known Aeolisms or Indo-European forms.³ What makes this absence of Doric influence on a dialect which is so composite remarkable, is the fact that in Hesiod traces of Dorisms are undoubtedly found. It has been maintained that these are due to Delphian influence solely, but it matters little where they come from. The significance of the evidence depends on the fact that we cannot find them at all in Homer, and this is a truth which must be borne in mind when we come to discuss the origin of the poems. It seems to bear silent witness to the view which can be proved from additional internal evidence, that either the poems were wholly Ionian and Asiatic, or else that they belong in part to a period antecedent to the Dorian invasion.

So far we have seen that while our text of Homer has an Old-Ionic basis, it contains a considerable tinge of Aeolism. But there are further

**New-Ionic
Forms and
Atticisms.**

elements which must be considered here. We have already pointed out the correspondence between the dialect of

¹ Fick's theories go much farther than our thesis, and have naturally aroused opposition both in England and Germany; but they do not concern us just now. See below, p. 128 ff.

² See *Classical Review*, 1887, April and May.

³ A good instance of this is the form ποτὶ as a variant for πρὸς, which came to be considered as a Dorism, but was undoubtedly a survival of early Greek. It occurs some sixty times in Homer.

Homer and that of Herodotus; and it is maintained that there are in the former certain forms which do not occur in the inscriptions prior to the latter, nay some which are even post-Herodotean—such for instance as ἐμεῦ, γένευσ, and other genitives in -ευ and -ευσ instead of the older -εο and -εος. And there are forms like τιθείσι διδοῦσι (for τιθέασι, διδόασι), and other contractions which occur in Herodotus, but can hardly be held to belong to Old-Ionic, as they do not commonly appear in the Attic of the fifth century. But what is more remarkable is the presence of Atticisms in Homer. If these are genuine and undoubted, as they appear to be, they cannot but carry with them much significance. Let us see a few examples. Contracted futures as κτενεί, τελεεί, are characteristic of Attic, but perhaps not absolutely foreign to New-Ionic: νώ, σφώ, and σφίσι, and optatives like ὑπέρσχοι,¹ are peculiarly Attic. Paley, who insists much on this fact, points to phrases like ὅτε μὲν . . . ὅτε δέ (at one time . . . at another time), ἄλλοτε (for ἐνίστε), and a large number of special phrases, some of them of comparatively late origin (appertaining to legal and philosophical matters). Now, how far these forms may be due to the work of copyists near the Alexandrian age is a question hard to discuss. But they seem to throw light on an important theory of Aristarchus, namely, that Homer was an Athenian by birth. Professor Sayce² says that the Attic colouring may be due to this belief of Aristarchus, since he did in some cases deliberately adopt an Attic form. We shall see reasons for rejecting this view. But would it not seem more reasonable to suggest, on the contrary, that the belief in question of Aristarchus may rather have been due, at least in part, to the acute observation of the great critic that the most popular Codices contained Attic forms, which certainly would bear out a conclusion which he may possibly have had other grounds for accepting? And if we give any credit to the stories regarding a recension by Peisistratus, or his son Hipparchus, what more antecedently probable than that Aristarchus

¹ *Od.* xiv. 184; *cp.* *Il.* xiv. 107.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 274.

should find Attic forms in the Athenian version, or in others which had been in any degree influenced by it? Nay, have we not here a surprising confirmation of the belief that the poems had passed through Attic hands? Moreover, Attic influence in the sixth and fifth centuries would sufficiently account for the Neo-Ionic forms as well as the Atticisms. The two dialects being cognate, and the Athenians being so closely connected with the Ionian Greeks, any tendency of Attic reciters or scribes to modernise the text, would be quite as likely to bring in recent Ionian forms as Attic in what they knew perfectly well was Ionian literature.

But we have not reached the end of our analysis of the Homeric dialect. Our text passed not merely from

Alleged Hellenistic Forms.

the Ionians to the Athenians, but from them to the Alexandrians of the third and second centuries. We must not be surprised if their scribes influenced the text, still modernising it and still among all the archaic forms introducing (perhaps only half-consciously) forms belonging to their own period. A list of forms given by Professor Sayce¹ is remarkable, consisting of words which are found once or twice in Homer and which also occur in late poets, such as Apollonius Rhodius² and others even later. It is possible, of course, that these words are real epic forms introduced by the imitators of Homer, to give an archaic colour to their poetry—yet many of the words have undoubtedly a modern look, and we cannot but feel suspicious about them in view of the large number of false archaisms which exist in Homer, and with the consideration of which we may end our notes on the epic dialect.

By false archaisms we mean spurious forms which never existed, and never could have existed, in any living

Occurrence of False Archaisms in the Homeric Dialect.

dialect, but which were intended to imitate truly archaic forms of which the real nature was misapprehended. Of these there are many in Homer—

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 268. See also Paley's *Iliad*, i., p. 1. of preface.

² He imitated Homer in an epic of four books called the *Argonautica* (about 190 B.C.).

different classes, indeed, some of which are wholly surprising in the ignorance they display of elementary grammar. Even Buttmann felt that there were **anomalous forms** in the Homeric language, which he laboured to explain in his celebrated *Lexilogus*, without disputing or apparently doubting their genuineness. Professor Paley, who has pointed this out, has also done good work in drawing attention to the subject of false archaisms; we may grant him this merit without in every case agreeing with his statements, still less admitting the extreme conclusions which he has drawn from them.

It will not be possible to give more than a few of the most striking instances of false archaism :—

I. In the confusion of words, e.g. the pronominal form $\delta\varsigma \eta \delta$ (or rather its by-form $\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, for σFos) with the adjective $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ = ‘brave,’ ‘noble.’ The genitive of the possessive pronoun is $\epsilon\omicron\iota\omicron$, of the adjective $\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ —from a confusion of which the monstrous form $\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$, in the sense of the possessive, seems to have been evolved. And we have the word used by extension of the 2nd person, as in the line¹:—

$\tau\hat{\omega} \sigma' \alpha\upsilon \nu\upsilon\eta\nu \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu \chi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\nu \nu\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma.$

The word almost always occurs at the end of a line, and generally in the set phrase $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$ or $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$. A similar confusion is found between $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, ‘when’ (a dialectical form of $\delta\tau\epsilon$) and $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon$ in the sense of ‘as.’ This word should be a trisyllable, but is used as a dissyllable (apparently by confusion with $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) in the line²:—

$\tau\hat{\omega} \delta' \eta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon \pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\nu\epsilon\tau', \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \delta\acute{\epsilon} \pi\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \lambda\alpha\omega\nu.$

II. The formation of impossible verb forms by false analogy, like $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ - $\sigma\theta\alpha$, formed wrongly from $\omicron\iota\sigma$ - $\theta\alpha$, in which latter word the σ is an essential part of the root. Similarly $\epsilon\lambda\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron$, formed wrongly from $\epsilon\rho\eta\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron$. These two forms occur very close together,³ and are surprisingly alike. The latter is formed rightly from $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ —the δ is radical—the former is from $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$

¹ *Il.* xv. 138.

² *Il.* xix. 386.

³ *Od.* vii. 86 and 95.

(stem ελα-), and is merely a blunder, probably a late one. Many similar instances could be given.

III. **A confusion of dialects**, e.g., the Aeolic form *κεκληγότες*, confused with an Ionic form (of different metrical value), *κεκλήγοντες*, has given the impossible form *κεκληγώτες* in the line¹:—

ὥς οἱ κεκληγώτες ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοισιν ὄρουσαν.

Somewhat similar to this are the frequent so-called resolutions of contracts, as *ἐλώωσι* for *ἐλῶσι* (= *ἐλάωσι*), *ὀρόψτε* (*ὀράω*), and the more impossible *ἡβῶντες* (*ἡβάω*), etc. These used to be explained by a process of assimilation, but all analogy is against it, and indeed the theory of metrical necessity, combined with ignorance of philology, is a much more likely explanation. This view is strengthened by the fact that we find in other directions a practice of metrical license, which was regularly adopted when a word could not be introduced otherwise, e.g., the initial lengthening of *ἄθανατος*; *ὑψήρεφός* from *ὑπέρεφος*; and a short syllable not lengthened before the double consonant of *Ζᾶκυνθος*.

IV. **Mistakes regarding words**, e.g., *νέποδες*, 'footless,' understood as 'descendants'; *μεγακήτης*, 'of great capacity,' understood as 'teeming with monsters.'² We could add indefinitely to this list, but it would weary the student. This theory of false archaisms, while we must guard against pushing it too far, will yet give a clue to many mysteries which Buttmann tried to solve with great ingenuity, but unsuccessfully. It must be remarked that while, perhaps, there are more traces of the bungling of rhapsodists and scribes in the later work, yet it must be also admitted that the more primitive parts of the *Iliad* are not free from late and false archaic forms.

We have now seen in detail what a composite thing is the so-called Epic dialect, for it contains elements not merely of three different dialects, but elements proper to widely differing periods, as well as those which belong to none because they are imaginary and

**Conclusion from
the above facts.**

¹ *Il.* xvi. 430.

² *Cp.* *μεγακήτει νηὶ* with *μεγακήτεα πόντον*.

false. Now, what conclusions are we to draw from the facts? With regard to false archaisms, Professor Jebb has warned us that they are not necessarily a proof of very late work. As he puts it, as soon as there are archaisms at all (and owing to the changefulness of language, especially of primitive language, this may be at a very early date) there can be false archaisms.¹ This is undeniable in theory: but if we closely consider the strangeness of some of the Homeric 'impossibles,' their variety, and above all their co-existence along with undoubted 'modernisms' of a different type, we must admit that they greatly strengthen the case of those who maintain that our version of the poems is comparatively late.

When, however, we come to consider the external evidence for our text, which we shall do in the following Section, we shall see that there are strong reasons for maintaining its substantial antiquity. We must not be misled from the presence of a comparatively modern element in the text, into supposing that it represents the date of the formation of the text. It is quite clear that even after the compositions, as wholes, were stereotyped, yet textual changes could be brought into them through the influence of the rhapsodes. What were the full effects of the custom of public recitation of the poems, we cannot know with certainty. On the whole we shall show the Homeric tradition was remarkably conservative, but yet there were divergencies, probably due to local causes, which were quite sufficient to account for the grave dialectical difficulties we have been considering.

¹ Jebb, *Homer*, p. 133.

§ 5. Our Homeric Text

Before entering on a discussion of the character, date, and origin of our Homeric text, it will be necessary to refer briefly to our previous conclusions.

A short recapitulation. In a Section entitled "Homer and the Cycle" we gave reasons for the belief that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* existed as epic poems by the middle, or at latest the end, of the ninth century, B.C. To this conclusion the enquiry we have to institute in the present Section may be considered in a certain sense as supplemental. The arguments brought forward hitherto did not touch a very important question, namely, how far can we prove the identity of our existing poems with those of the ninth century? Or rather we shall ask, how far is it possible to trace back our poems? That is to say, commencing with the existing authorities for the text, and briefly discussing the available evidence for its history, we shall ask, is it possible to fix a date which may reasonably be named as the latest at which the poems *as we read them* could possibly have come into existence?

We may note at starting that our evidence on this subject concerns the *Iliad* much more directly than the *Odyssey*. The longer poem especially appealed in virtue of its subject to the national susceptibilities of the Greeks, and received far more attention at all times. Even in the Hellenistic period, when the interest of the poems had become more literary than national, we have recently acquired curious evidence from Egyptian tombs of the immense popularity of the *Iliad* not merely as compared with non-Homeric literature, but even with the *Odyssey*. Therefore, whether we regard extant documents, or what is known of the history of Homeric textual criticism, we are in a far better position to form a direct judgment about one poem than the other. On the other hand, at least in the later periods which we are

about to deal with (the question of their actual origin being reserved), the history of the poems is beyond doubt so intimately associated that we shall not be in danger of serious error if, while we are mainly discussing the text of the *Iliad*, we assume that our conclusions may be supposed to be indirectly valid for the dates of the actual text of the *Odyssey* also.

We may classify our authorities for the text of Homer under four headings, on each of which a few separate remarks will be added :—

The existing authorities for the Homeric Text. I. **Mediaeval MSS.**, which are very numerous, not very early,¹ but on the whole a good set, with plenty of collation still waiting to be effected.

II. **A large number of fragmentary Egyptian papyri**, recently acquired, some few in excellent preservation, covering a large area of time and going back, roughly speaking, from 1000 to 1500 years prior to the other MSS.

III. **Scholia written on the margin** chiefly of three MSS.—those of Codex A being of immense importance.

IV. **Quotations from the Poems in extant Classical Authors**, more particularly Plato and Aristotle. These are important as bearing witness either for or against the verbal and minute accuracy of the MSS.

Of **Codices** some hundreds exist ; but a large number are still far from properly collated. Those of the *Iliad* are both more numerous and of higher

The Codices. antiquity than those of the *Odyssey*, the Italian libraries alone containing 107 of the *Iliad*. Mr. Walter Leaf, who collated four (new ones) entirely and some fifteen partially, appeals to fifty MSS. (exclusive of papyri) in his second edition of the *Iliad* (1900). Monro and Allen in their text make use of a much larger number, about 130, more than a hundred of which were wholly or partially collated by Mr. Allen. These are arranged in family groups. In addition about twenty papyri are specially quoted.

¹ With the exception of two texts (both fragmentary) to be described below

With the exception of the four or five MSS. which will be specially mentioned, none are earlier than the twelfth century, A.D.; there are about six earlier than the thirteenth, and the majority are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Of the *Odyssey* there is only one MS. as early as the thirteenth century, the *Harleianus* in the British Museum, which is particularly important on account of its scholia. There is also at Munich an important Codex of the *Odyssey* (the *Augustanus*). Its date is disputed, but it is probably later than the thirteenth century.

To return to the *Iliad*, there are certain codices which deserve special mention here. By far the most important of all Homeric MSS. is the beautiful tenth-century Codex A, of the Marcian library in Venice. In the whole 'Corpus' of classical literature there is hardly any existing document more carefully transcribed than this celebrated book, of which, however, some few quires here and there have been lost and supplied by a later hand. *Codex Venetus A* was first published in 1788, by Villoison. This was a great event in Homeric scholarship, for it made known the treasures of the *Epitome*, (described above¹) and thus prepared the way for Wolf's *Prolegomena*, which laid the foundation of modern Homeric scholarship. The importance of this MS. depends partly on the text itself (which has been stated to show strong Aristarchian influence), partly on the scholia and the Aristarchian σημεία, and partly on the excerpts from Proclus, giving us not merely a Life of Homer, but valuable information as to the Cyclic poems. In the year 1901, a photographic reproduction of Codex A was published at Leyden with a critical preface by Professor D. Comparetti, forming an immense boon for Homeric students. Through it we are enabled to place before our readers the first page of Book xi., showing its double scholia and the use of the Aristarchian signs.

There is also a second Codex at Venice of importance,

¹ See pages 37-8.

known as B, which is probably of the eleventh century. It is much prized for its scholia.

At Florence, in the Laurentian library, are two MSS. (known respectively as C, D) of the eleventh, or possibly tenth, century. Though of comparatively early date these are not considered of high authority by Leaf.

Lastly, in the British Museum is the *Townleianus*, of the eleventh century; a very good MS., of which the scholia rank next in importance to those of Codex A. In many cases the two sets are taken from the same source, but in other cases Codex T contains valuable supplementary matter.

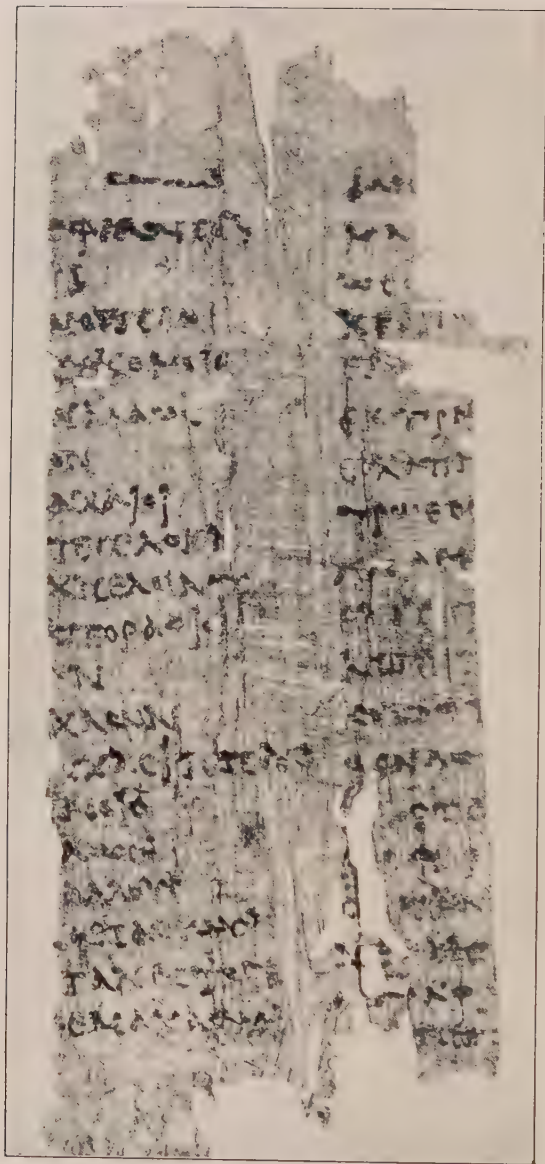
Without going into detail here, we may state that there is among all this mass of documents, a striking uniformity, not absolute, but without more variation than we usually expect to find in MSS. of classical authors. So far considered, our evidence does not reach back further at most than the tenth century, A.D. We must now proceed to consider the evidence of a much earlier date.

Intermediate between the MSS. we have been considering and the recent Egyptian papyri come certain important fragments of earlier MSS.

Earlier evidence: These are uncials (all considered hitherto
fragmentary being, of course, minuscule or cursive).
MSS. and papyri.

The first of these is a portion of a Codex *Ambrosianus* at Milan which probably dates from the sixth century, A.D., with about 800 lines from various parts of the *Iliad*: it does not show very important variations from the vulgate as evidenced by the later MSS. There is also a Syrian palimpsest in the British Museum, with nearly 4,000 lines from Books xii. to xxiv. of the *Iliad*, belonging to about the same period as the last mentioned, but rather later and not quite so good. It also confirms the reliability of the complete codices.

We must give a little more attention to the papyri, especially as some years ago it was widely believed that the information they gave seriously threatened the authority of previously existing texts. We shall see, however, that this has not been their actual effect.



The new papyri vary from very small fragments of a few lines to whole books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and in date range from the third century, B.C., to the seventh or eighth century, A.D. In all there are 108 Homeric fragments forming about one-third of all the literary papyri, and about a half of those of known authorship. The comparative popularity of the *Iliad* is shown by the fact that of the 108 only 23 give portions of the *Odyssey*. The disproportion is greater if lines are enumerated, for of these 6,526 belong to the *Iliad* and only 915 to the *Odyssey*.²

On the whole the effect of these fragments is to confirm the validity of our text. But four of them (three belonging to the third and second centuries, B.C.) do show considerable discrepancy, chiefly in the addition of new lines; for instance, Brit. Mus. Pap. 689 (*Il.* viii.) gives three new to eight old lines, while 486 (*Il.* xi.) in a space of thirty-six lines gives five new, besides omitting three old ones. In such papyri it has been estimated that the average of different (chiefly inserted) lines is as high as thirteen per cent. of the whole.¹

Two of these fragments, one of which we reproduce, are not more than a few square inches in size, yet their discovery caused quite a flutter of excitement in the world of scholarship, as they seemed to point to the vogue in Egypt in the Ptolemaic era of different texts from ours. It has since been proved that their significance was overrated, partly owing to the discovery of new papyri which, being more in accordance with our text, tended to counteract the evidence of those in question, and partly because it was found that the added lines are of no independent value, but mere padding often borrowed from elsewhere, or else palpably worthless interpolations. Lastly, it was pointed out that the existence of such interpolated texts would agree with

¹ There is a beautifully written papyrus in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which was discovered in the Fayum by Mr. Flinders Petrie, consisting of minute portions of a few lines of Book i., and over 100 lines of Book ii. of the *Iliad*. It contains an early manuscriptal example of the signs of Aristarchus, as well as some fragmentary scholia of Didymus.

what we might have suspected on independent grounds as will be clear from the following paragraphs.

The importance of the scholia, especially of those conveying the views of the great Alexandrians, has been already made clear to the reader. It

The Scholia. will not, however, be out of place here to describe them somewhat more fully.

Of the Codex A scholia, besides Villoison's edition of 1788, important editions were given by Bekker (Berlin, 1825) and by Dindorf (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1875-7); these including the scholia not merely of Codex A, but of *Venetus B*, the *Townleianus*, certain Leipsic MS., etc. It may be remarked that there are certain codices containing scholia only without any text. In Codex A the scholia occur in two distinct forms, some being written in the usual way in a broad margin, the other briefer and written in very small characters between the text and the ordinary ones. The secondary ones were apparently added as an afterthought, but are of considerable importance in some cases though in others they merely give the substance of the original scholia. After each book the names of the four authors of the *Epitome*, from which the more important criticisms are taken, are repeated; besides which the work of each can be distinguished from that of the others by their style and subject matter.

The evidence of the scholia on the whole is in favour of our text as being substantially identical with the vulgate in the time of Aristarchus and the other great Alexandrian critics. We can trace indeed divergencies between their text and ours just as we know they found divergencies in the codices which they had at hand. But the differences are of detail, and frequently of very minute detail, such as the omission of a $\delta\epsilon$, the divisions of words and the question of a rough or smooth breathing, and similar points. So that although we have not got either of the recensions of Aristarchus in its entirety, we are able, by means of the scholia and the *σημεία*, to form a very clear idea of what they were like, and that in essentials they must have closely corresponded with our own text. Before going more closely into detail

we will here describe our last remaining source of knowledge.

Another class of evidence regarding the value of our text is one that presents a certain difficulty, namely, the quotations from Homer in Greek

Extant quotations in classical authors. authors which have come down to us. A very curious phenomenon exists, namely, that Plato, whose works are thoroughly well authenticated and who quotes Homer very freely, shows a surprising correspondence with our text, whereas both those before him and those who come after him, even including his own disciple Aristotle, apparently used a text which varied somewhat from ours. This variation might be accounted for to some extent by the fact that such quotations were frequently made from memory, and that possibly the ancients were less careful than we of verbal accuracy when quoting. But this will hardly account for an explicit statement like that of Aeschines that a particular phrase,¹ which is strange to us, occurs frequently in the poems. Moreover, the same orator elsewhere quotes passages from the eighth and twenty-third books of the *Iliad*, in which the sequence of lines is different from the same passages in our text. This seems to prove that in the fifth century there were versions current in Greece which were somewhat wide apart, displaying more than mere verbal discrepancies in the text.

On the other hand we have the evidence referred to in the writings of Plato which tends to prove that at least the text which he preferred (and he was no mean judge) was practically identical with our own.² It has been maintained that the copyists of Plato may sometimes have brought the texts into conformity with the vulgate version of the poems: on the other hand, it is hard to see why this should have operated more on the text of Plato than of Aristotle. Those who would

¹ The phrase in question is *φῆμὴ δ' ἐς στρατὸν ἦλθε*. This does not occur in our Homer.

² We need not take into account the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades II*.

magnify the influence of Alexandria plausibly maintain that Plato had a text of his own from which he quoted, and which got into the hands of the grammarians.¹

It is easy to exaggerate the evidence of the quotations in the direction of divergence. Ludwich² has taken the trouble to make a very exact computation of them, and finds that out of 480 lines quoted in the extant authors, not more than eleven, or at most twelve, are foreign to our text; and Monro³ computes that this is nothing like the proportion of strange lines in the most divergent of the papyrus fragments, which would involve about 60: (instead of 12 :) 480.

We are now in a better position to draw conclusions regarding our text. The data that have been adduced **regarding Codices, Papyri, Scholia and Quotations**, combine to establish two conclusions. First, there was at least in pre-Alexandrian times, but even earlier, a vulgate text very like our own; and secondly, there were other texts in vogue differing somewhat from ours in several details, but mostly in the *addition of lines*, which are easily recognisable as clumsy interpolations or simple padding.⁴

Now, it is remarkable that a large part of the criticism of the Alexandrians consisted in the retrenchment of superfluous lines, sometimes by omission, but more often by the process of obelising (or, as it is also called, athetizing⁵) passages usually of one line or very few.

¹ Grote points out that great care was taken of Plato's MSS. by his school, and suggests that they would be the first to be obtained by Demetrius Phalereus, who was employed by Ptolemy in the founding of the Alexandrian Library. See Grote's *Plato*, vol. i., pp. 134 and 152.

² *Homervulgata* (Leipsic, 1898), pp. 138 ff.

³ *Odyssey* (13-24), p. 429, where he also points out that Aristotle in particular quoted frequently from memory, which may account for a good deal of the difficulty arising from his quotations which form a large proportion of the total.

⁴ We need not discuss the theory (which is not without some probability) that these instances of padding were due to inferior rhapsodes, who wished to give value for their money.

⁵ From the *σημείον* called obelus; and from *ἀθετεῖν*, 'to set aside.'

And we have pointed out that Aristarchus had about fourteen editions of quite various 'provenance,' which certainly differed among themselves, inasmuch as his work consisted in great part in comparing their differences and choosing between them. One of these editions was even named the *πολύστιχος*, which may have been the very text which is responsible for the curious redundancies of the papyrus fragments. Moreover, he refers as it were in contrast to his picked editions (the *κατὰ πόλεις* were from the most distant parts of the Greek world) to a set of texts which he saw reason to depreciate, referring to them as the vulgate¹ (*κοινή*), and sometimes as vulgar (*δημώδεις*), careless (*εἰκαιότεραι*), and worthless (*φαιλότεραι*).

But it may be asked how we prove that this text, which is recognised by Aristarchus as a vulgate (and which therefore existed in pre-Alexandrian times), is in any true sense to be identified with our text? Is it not *a priori* improbable that, after all the work done by Aristarchus, and all his efforts to purify a particular kind of text from errors and corruptions, that very text which was by him condemned as worse than faulty should yet have come down to us practically in the same form in which it was known to him?

This is a serious difficulty which must be met by asking a question very pertinent to our argument.

The inquiry we are now to make will bring us to the very heart of our subject. For the great importance which has always been attached to the Alexandrian, especially the Aristarchian, recension—even the fact that the **What real Effect had Alexandrian criticism on the Vulgate?** 'signs' are found in so many MSS. ranging over a long period of time—naturally bred the belief that the vulgate was profoundly influenced by

¹ The reason for these opprobrious epithets will appear later. However Monro does not admit that these texts were the 'vulgate' in our sense. He thinks the 'padded' texts would be called *κοιναι* (see *Odyssey*, p. 448, n.). Mr. T. W. Allen, who follows Nauck and Ludwig, argues very powerfully for the view we are maintaining. See *Classical Review*, xiii. pp. 324 and 425; xiv. pp. 242, 290; xv. p. 241.

these grammarians. If we can prove that this view is quite groundless, that as a matter of fact Aristarchus left his vulgate just where he found it, there will be no room left for doubting that the pre-Alexandrian text has reached us substantially intact.

By a very careful and original method of computing the readings of seventy-nine Italian MSS. (considered in groups) Mr. Allen¹ has tabulated their correspondence on the one hand with the ancient *κοινή* as revealed to us by the Alexandrian scholia, and on the other hand with the recorded readings of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus. One of the groups, consisting of about ten MSS., to the importance of which Mr. Leaf² first drew attention, is peculiar in showing traces of a special Alexandrian influence, but even this group is otherwise distinguished by the large number of peculiar readings it contains from other and unknown sources.³ Leaving then this group out of count, also neglecting cases of athetesis, rearrangement of lines, and accentuation, the statistics are as follows:—

I. Taking *explicit* notices of the *κοινή* in the scholia, our MSS. wholly agree with it in fifty-seven per cent. ; and wholly disagree with it in twenty-three per cent. (in twenty per cent. they are divided).

II. Taking *implied* notices in the scholia, our MSS. agree wholly with the *κοινή* in sixty per cent. ; disagree wholly in sixteen per cent. (in twenty-four per cent. they are divided).

III. Taking, on the other hand, the recorded readings of Aristarchus, we find in eighteen per cent. they have affected the MSS. absolutely ; in forty-six per cent. practically not at all (in thirty-six per cent. the MSS. are divided).

These results are striking enough ; but we must remember that the criticism of Aristarchus was most

¹ *Classical Review*, loc. cit.

² In *Journal of Philology*, xviii. p. 181 ff. Article by Leaf, who suggests that on account of three important MSS. belonging to it, the name 'Paris group' would describe it best.

³ Out of 221 special readings, fifty-two only can be traced to the Alexandrians.

remarkable for the number of lines he condemned by affixing the obelus (a case excluded from the above computations.) Now, it is true that the MSS. have retained this mark in great part, but on the other hand the lines have never been expunged from the text (with trifling exceptions). So that by putting all the facts together, and allowing something for the element of chance, if we weigh the influence of the Alexandrians on our vulgate, we are forced to conclude that at least it has been by no means overmastering, not even excepting the specially-marked group of MSS., where we can recognize the high-water mark of agreement with Aristarchus.

We have supplied the above statistics, because we thought it would be indispensable for the student to

The pre-Alexandrian Canon. have some direct idea of the effect produced by the Ptolemaic school on our text. But even if the view be rejected,

which identifies our vulgate with the κοιναί, δημώδεις, φαυλότεροι, κ.τ.λ. of Aristarchus (and we admit it is not quite certain); even if the influence of the school be thereby somewhat magnified; yet plenty of evidence remains that the changes in the text which the Alexandrians advocated, and indeed the very differences indicated by the copies which they had collected, were concerned to a great extent with points of accentuation, spelling, and grammatical form, rather than with matters which would seriously modify the meaning or even the style of the poetry.

With regard, however, to these minor and formal variations a very important observation has been made by Mr. Allen.¹ He has compared one class of vulgate readings with the Aristarchian, and finds the former represent a **later age of linguistic growth**, as evidenced by assimilation of consonants, contraction of vowels and crasis, addition of augments, preference of *a*-forms of aorist, and even neglects of digamma. This phenomenon,

¹ See *Classical Review*, xv. p. 4 ff, and 241 ff. The readings in question amount to about 100, or one-sixth of those which his method has enabled him to claim as recorded readings of the κοινή.

which is what we might expect to find in a more popular as compared to more literary versions, will quite account for the grammarian's contempt for the vulgate text ; but it does not prove, nor does our evidence tend to show, that in other respects the *κατὰ πόλεις* and the *κατ' ἄνδρα* editions beloved of Aristarchus were really better in regard to what we might call substantial variations. This, however, is beside the mark : we are concerned not with the goodness or the reverse of the pre-Alexandrian text, but merely with its history. We are now in a position to ask, what was this *κοινή*, this popular text, which Aristarchus despised and yet which has had such a marvellous vitality that it is still being printed in the school editions of Homer in every corner of the known world which possesses a printing press and a fount of Greek type ? A very little reflexion will suggest that it was the text of that city where Homer was most recited because literature was most cultivated, a city far removed indeed from Cyprus and Sinope and Marseilles and Crete and Æolis and Chios,¹ because the centre is far from the circumference, the city whose dialect had been and was eating into the text. We see now why the Alexandrians, with all their appeals to rare and uncommon texts, never so much as refer to the Attic. We also discern, perhaps, a reason for the very curious opinion of Aristarchus, who rejected the current opinion that Homer was born in Ionia in order to maintain that he was a child of Athens. Whether the *κατὰ πόλεις* editions were all officially sanctioned in their various localities is a question we cannot decide—but at least everything points to the probability that the *κοινή* of the scholia represented an Athenian official text, which, from constant use in the hands and mouths of the citizens, was tending in orthography and grammar to become unduly modernized in an Athenian direction. In our Section on Homeric dialect we stumbled upon the presence of a Neo-Ionian, Athenian, possibly even

¹ The student will hardly need to be reminded that the places mentioned are, along with Argos, those whence the *ἐκδόσεις κατὰ πόλεις* had been imported.

a Hellenistic element in the text, which then appeared an almost insurmountable difficulty to any theory of a truly archaic origin. Now we see at once the reason of this element, and how it moreover becomes a most important link in our chain of continuity.

We claim then to have established so far on cumulative grounds that our vulgate is substantially identical

Antiquity of Athenian Vulgate. with one which the Ptolemaic critics found holding the field, and tried unsuccessfully to expel—no other than the one which was regarded in Athens as authorised. And what do we know as to its antiquity?

First of all, it went back at least to the Golden Age of Athens, the age of Pericles. This can be easily seen by a comparison with the other texts into which it is put in competition in the scholia. They were chiefly of two sorts, the *κατ' ἄνδρα* and the *κατὰ πόλεις*. We do not know the age of the latter except in so far that they were certainly not notably later than the *κατ' ἄνδρα* texts; far more probably they were earlier, better, and more official. But at least the *κατ' ἄνδρα* texts take us back to the fifth century. Among others of later date, one of them was named from Antimachus the friend of Plato, and another (though not certainly used by Aristarchus) from Euripides, the nephew of the great tragedian.¹ But such texts—editions as we should say—aimed at preserving or restoring the purity of the vulgate, which was so far from being constituted by them that it was probably far less affected by them than it was by the critics who wrote two hundred years later. Even had the differences between one text and the others been far greater than we know them to have been, we should still have been justified in arguing from the antiquity of its competitors to that of the vulgate.

But we have a case where the date of the text in question is guaranteed not merely by the texts of

¹ Mr. Allen suggests a brilliant hypothesis regarding this MS., namely, that it was followed in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* which shows discrepancies from our text regarding the Catalogue; see *Classical Review*, xv. p. 347 ff.

individual Athenian citizens, but by the co-existence all through the Greek world of texts which, while they differed from the Athenian sufficiently to prove that they represented each an independent tradition, yet their differences were on the whole slight—regarding in some cases grammatical forms, in others single words or phrases, or at most the insertion or rejection of one or more lines which were usually of very little importance to the poetry.

Under these circumstances we are undoubtedly justified in pushing back the date of the formation of our vulgate to a still earlier period. Starting with the fifth century, and allowing a few generations as a minimum for the formation of wide-spread and independent traditions, we come to the date of Peisistratus. We have argued his case already, and need not cover the ground again.¹ Suffice it here to say that whether he did much or little towards settling the text of the vulgate, in any case it cannot have been seriously modified very much after his time. And that is all that we are concerned to maintain in the present section. We had assigned *a latest date* long prior to this (850-800 B.C.) to the epics *in some shape or form*. We cannot now say that in *our* form they go back so far—but roughly speaking our text goes back certainly well into the fifth, and in all probability into the sixth century, B.C. That it also goes back further might possibly be maintained, but not on the direct evidence of our existing codices, papyri, scholia, and classical quotations.

Peisistratus was accused, at least in later times, of giving an Attic colouring to the poems. If he, or any other ruler of Athens in the sixth century, really prepared and adopted an official text for public use, the result would be that involuntarily and imperceptibly that text would be to some extent Atticised in its dialectical forms. This process is what we have seen was really at work on the vulgate, and it is analogous

¹ See § 3 of this chapter, "The Poems among the Greeks," pages 25-6.

<div> <div>AGE</div> <div> <div>400</div> <div>300</div> <div>200</div> <div>100</div> </div> </div> <div> <div>320 Death of Alexander</div> </div>	<div> <div>CHANGES in text ly dialectical).</div> <div>EN TRANSMISSION.</div> </div>		<div>ED. of ANTIMACHUS.</div> <div>ED. of EURIPIDES (the younger).</div> <div> <div>Earliest extant fragments of text (Egyptian papyri).</div> <div>Rise of ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL of critics Xenodotus. Aristophanes.</div> </div> <div>160 (Circ.) ARISTARCHUS flourished.</div>	<div>400</div> <div>300</div> <div>200</div> <div>100</div>
	<div>HELLENISTIC AGE</div>		<div>DIDYMUS THE BRAZEN, περὶ τῆς Ἀριστάρχου διορθώσεως</div>	

THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

A.D. 200 to 250 (circ.).

THE EPITOME of criticism of Didymus and three other writers.

A.D. 500 to 600.

Certain important fragmentary MSS. (Uncials).

A.D. 1000 (circ.).

The CODEX VENETUS A (published 1788, reproduced 1902).

A.D. 1200 to 1300.

Earliest extant Codex of *Odyssey* (Harl. Br. Mus.).

to the process by which, according to our theory, during the organic formation of the poems, the earlier portions lost the old Achæan colouring and gradually acquired an Ionic tinge. This was inevitable before the epics were written down; and even after they were fixed in MS. form, the copyists appear to have continued the gradual process of modernization—at least until the time of the Alexandrian grammarians, who drew the attention of students to the text and thus tended to fix it. Henceforth the poems became a mere literary inheritance instead of the living vehicle of a nation's consciousness: henceforth their breath was of a past that had faded, and they could be handed down to future ages as 'a possession for ever' without the possibility of change.

We think the evidence given in this Section clearly establishes the view that after the time of Peisistratus (or thereabouts) there has been no creation of a Homeric text. It has been continually traditional, and though modification of detail must be admitted, tradition has been, on the whole, conservative, leaving unimpaired the spirit and the substance of the poems.

§ 6. Homeric Grammar, Style, and Metre

It would not be possible within our limits to append a complete and detailed view of the grammatical forms occurring in Homer. Nor will the student find it necessary. Plenty of useful treatises in convenient form already exist; moreover, it would be needless for the student to commit to memory lengthy grammatical rules and lists of exceptional forms, some of which he may hardly ever meet, and if he does it will then be time enough to learn them with less effort. On the other hand to possess a slight preliminary knowledge of certain principles underlying the grammar and the metre of Homer will be a useful thing for the beginner, and will put him in a position to notice, and to some extent account for, the peculiarities which will meet him at every step in his study. The aim therefore of the present section is not to give an exhaustive tabulation of Homeric forms or constructions, but to notice some of the more typical phenomena, or those which are widely diffused throughout the text.

It will help towards an understanding of Homeric grammar to bear in mind two things which will have been brought before the reader of the Section on the Homeric Dialect. First, that dialect is essentially composite, though not in the erroneous sense that its formation was due to purposed selection from previously known varieties of speech. Secondly, Homer represents an early stage of the Greek language, on the whole earlier than that represented by any other extant literature. Therefore we find on the one hand a great **multiplicity of forms**—on the other, a preponderance of **archaic** ones, such as case-endings less worn away, or a less pronounced tendency to contraction, than in later Classical Greek. Moreover, Grammar, and especially Syntax, has become less stereotyped than it is,

General principles of Homeric grammar.

for instance, in Attic. For there is a marked freedom in the use of cases; the original, adverbial use of prepositions is less obscured; and certain well-defined constructions of later Syntax are just coming into use in at most a half-developed stage. It is true that, side by side with these indications of archaism, we find formations which are apparently very late, and a confusing disposition on the part of bards or editors to **attempt new forms** on a supposed analogy with the old. The result of this erroneous neologising is that we occasionally find monsters, forms which are philologically impossible, but of which it would be now hopeless to attempt to purge the text. A large number of them are apparently due to metrical exigencies; and it has even been said that some of the innovators were prepared to admit almost any forms, particularly in the case of verbs and participles, provided they could scan! Hence the student of Homeric grammar, while he can derive the utmost assistance from scientific philology in explaining numerous groups of formations, should feel profound distrust for those who push theory to such an extent as to try, as many have done, to force the explanation of forms which are really due to false analogy or mere metrical expedience. As an instance of what is meant, forms like ὀρόωσα, ὀρόωντες used to be explained by assimilation, a theory which is now but rarely if at all maintained. It is generally accepted as much more probable that so far from being intermediate, uncontracted forms, these participles are the result of an affected resolution of the later contracts, ὀρῶσαι and ὀρῶντες. The form ἡβῶοντες (= ἡβάοντες) is perhaps a more extreme case of this tendency, which is seen in the case of nouns also, e.g. σπείλους, wrongly contracted from σπείεος, κ.τ.λ.

It has been stated above that the contraction of vowels is generally less carried out than in later Greek.

Further remarks on Contraction in Homeric grammar. With regard to contract verbs, it will be more precise to add here that the statement applies most fully to verbs in -εω, and least to those in -οω, which last are usually contracted. A large number of syllables, chiefly

in nouns, used to be, and are often still, printed as contracted into diphthongs, because they were so treated in later Greek, even where metrical considerations lead us to suppose that in the Homeric poems the concurrent vowels are still intended to be pronounced apart. For instance, the form Ἄργεῖος occurs some 400 times in the poems, and never once in such a position that Ἄργέῖος is impossible.¹ The law of probability would exclude our supposing that such a fact could be the result of mere chance, therefore we must assume that open pronunciation is the true cause. As the word must have been originally Ἄργε(σ)ῖος, this theory is the more certain. So κοῖλος can be treated as a trisyllable with a single exception in its 68 occurrences, and the common word θεῖος very frequently. In such cases it is better to be guided by scientific induction than by our MSS., which are scarcely authoritative in matters of spelling.

With regard to the collocation -εω, it may be noticed that though it does not suffer contraction proper, it is very frequently pronounced as a single syllable by synizesis. So ἡμέων, ὑμέων, which could not otherwise find place in the hexameter, are pronounced as dissyllables.

Notice also that the Attic εῖ is in Homer generally εὐ: so οἷς is οῖς, and παῖς is παῖς. Patronymics like Ἀτρεΐδης and Πηλεΐων have the central vowels uncontracted.

Some important peculiarities which appear to belong to the Æolic dialect have been noted.² In addition to such we may remark the following:

i. Certain **archaic affixes**, especially -φι(ν), originally an *instrumental* termination, but used also as a *locative* and even a *true ablative*, taking the **Noun-formation**, place in both singular and plural of the genitive and dative cases, as ἡφι βίηφι, with his own might; ἐκ στήθεσφιν, from the breast; ὄρεσφιν, on the mountains. It usually comes at the end

¹ Pointed out first by Nauck. Modern editors (e.g. Leaf, and Monro and Allen) commonly refuse to accept Nauck's spelling, apparently on the ground that the resolved pronunciation was out of date at the time when our text was first written down.

² See § 4 of the present chapter, pp. 42-4.

of a verse, and is not used with words indicating persons. Note also that adverbial suffixes are used more loosely than in Attic. Thus ἐγγύς, ἐγγύθι, ἐγγύθεν appear to be used equivalently. The dative plural of the -α stems is in -ησι(ν) or sometimes -ης, but not -αις (except very rarely, probably owing to mistake of copyists). The **genitive** in -οιο (from -ο stems) is very common in Homer. It is from this form that -ου was derived through -οο (the iota having dropped out), and it is metrically certain that the form in -οο should be restored for the Attic form (as in Αἰόλοο μεγάλητορος, where Αἰόλου will not scan).¹ The above are specimens of special terminations, of which many more are left to the student's own observation.

ii. In the declension of **nouns** and even of **adjectives** there are a large number of by-forms. For instance *νῖός* occurs as in Attic, but also forms as though derived from *νῖς* (as *νῖος*, *νῖες* κ.τ.λ.) and others as though from *νιεύς* (as *νιέος*, *νιέα* κ.τ.λ.) In like manner *γάστριν* (cp. *γαστήρ*) *ἄλκη* (cp. *ἀλκή*) *φύλακας* (cp. *φυλάκους*) *μάστιγ* (cp. *μάστιγι*). Proper names, as *Ἄρης* (which gives *Ἄρηος* and *Ἄρηα*), and *Ἄλδης*, *Μυκήνη*, etc., show great multiplication and confusion of forms. *Πολὺς* is heteroclite even in Attic, but to a much greater extent in Homer, as both *πολυ-* and *πολλο-* give nearly complete sets of forms.

iii. Many **adjectives of 3 terminations** (in Attic) have only two in Homer, as *ἰφθίμους ψύχας*, *ἀσπᾶσιος γῆ*. On the other hand compound adjectives may have three terminations, as *ἀθανάτη*, *πολυμνήστη*, and many others. The stems used for comparatives and superlatives are often special and sometimes duplicated; as, *κακώτερος* and *κακίων*, *φίλτερος* and *φίλλων*, *ώκύκατος* and *ώκιστος*: *πολὺς* has the comp. *πλείων* and *πλέον* with the irregular *πλείες* in the plural. There are also forms from noun-stems, as *κύντερος* (*κύων*), *κύδιστος* (*κύδος*), and many other eccentricities of grammar.

iv. Note in the nom. pl. of *ὁ ἡ τὸ*, the earlier forms

¹ In like manner it is better, though not absolutely necessary, to read *ἡῶα διαν* rather than *ἡῶ διαν* for the reason given below (notes on Metre, p. 77.)

τοί and ταί, and that in the dat. pl. the longer forms τοῖσι and ταῖσι are preferred (as is the case also in all other dative plurals of the -ο and -α stems).

i. Many of the laws regulating noun-formation apply also to the pronouns. The forms ἐμεῖο, ἐμέο, ἐμεῦ, ἐμεθεν are among those for the 1st pers. sing.

Pronoun-forms. genitive. The nom. ἐγών has been given already. The pl. ἄμμι, with gen. ἡμέων, ἡμέων and dat. ἄμμι may be noted. There is no dual; but σφῶι is in use for the 2nd pers. dual.

ii. The **possessives** are τέός, ἀμός, ὑμός, and a form σφός, ἐός or ὅς, the same word as the Latin *suus*, but used sometimes for the 1st and 2nd persons as well as the 3rd. Notice ὅτις for ὅστις, and ὅσσος κ.τ.λ. for ὅσος.

iii. Here we may mention among the **numerals** ἓα (= μία) fem. for 'one'; πένυρες and ἐξέκοσι have been already mentioned; πρῶτατος, τρίτατος and other odd forms among the ordinals.

i. The **augment** is frequently dispensed with, and is hardly ever found with iteratives. The initial consonant if a liquid and sometimes when

Verb-formation. δ may be doubled before the augment to express that such a consonant has a lengthening effect, e.g. ἔλλαβε, ἔδδεισεν, etc. For some reason the σ of the future and 1st aorist is frequently doubled in like manner, as τελέσσει, δημοσον, καλέσσαιτο, etc. There are also peculiarities in regard to reduplication: aorists are more frequently reduplicated than in Attic, as πεπίθοιμεν, ἐκλέλαθον, τέτλαθι, τεταγών, etc. (κεκάμω is doubtful, as it may possibly be κε κάμω.)

ii. **Tense-endings.** Forms belonging to -μι verbs are common, as ἴδωμι, ἐθέλησι. The ending -σθα occurs in the indic. as φήσθα in the subjunctive, as εἴπησθα, and even rarely in the optative, as βάλοισθα. The older form in -εα for the 1st pers. sing. pluperf. survives, as ἦδεα (Attic ἦδη). Active infinitives (exc. 1st aorist) end in -μεναι, which can be shortened to -μεν, but generally before a vowel (which looks like elision). The pass. aor. infin. may end in -μεναι, as δαμήμεναι (δαμῆναι.)

The **3rd pl. plup., and opt.** ends in -αται -ατο for γται -ντο (which was remarked above as an Aeolism.)

iii. The **short subjunctive** form must be carefully noticed as older than the more familiar long form. βήσομεν (not βήσωμεν) so εἶδομεν, ἴομεν, κ.τ.λ. Sometimes we get what looks like vowel compensation as βέλομεν (for βέωμεν = βῶμεν), so τραπέλομεν.

iv. Many verbs commonly occurring, such as εἶμι, εἶμι, οἶδα, κ.τ.λ., have a special set of Homeric forms, which will be learned from reading, or may be found in the grammars.

Notice the forms ὑπαί, ὑπείρ, παραι, προτί or ποτί (= πρὸς)

Preposition- εἰν, ἐνι, εἰνι, and a few other strange
forms. forms.

We may usefully append here some few syntactical illustrations of the freedom of Homeric grammar as compared with later Greek.

Syntax of i. A notable instance of this principle
Moods. is the use of the **subjunctive** with a sort of vague and remote idea of

futurity: οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. "I never yet saw such men, nor *am I likely to see them*;" which is not quite so strong as οὐδὲ ὄψομαι, "nor *shall I see them*."

What is also remarkable is the use of κέν or ἄν with the subjunctive in this construction—a collocation which is of course impossible in Attic—as, ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὃν κεν ἴκωμαι. (It is not so certain that ἄν can be used with the future indicative itself, though the MSS. give a few instances.) On the other hand simple εἰ (without ἄν or κέν) can be followed by the subjunctive, where εἰάν (= εἰ ἄν) is required in Attic.

ii. When we look at the **uses of the optative** we find similar contrasts. This mood can by itself have a hypothetical or potential force in Homer, and does not need the addition of ἄν to give it this meaning. Again the optative with ἄν can be used, *equivalently to the indicative with ἄν in Attic*, to express an impossible and past supposition, as, καὶ νῦ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπολοίτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀινείας κ.τ.λ., "then Aeneas, king of men, *would have perished*," etc.

iii. It may be noted here that the use of the infinitive for imperative, which also occurs in later Greek, is fairly common in Homer.

iv. The construction of ὥστε with infinitive had not been developed in Homeric times : it occurs in only two places, which are possibly corrupt.

v. In similes, the subjunctive mood is very commonly used, being introduced by ὥς, ὥς δ' ὅτε, ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄν, ὥς εἰ κ.τ.λ. (not ὥς by itself).

i. The so-called **Dativus Commodi** has a wide range in Homeric grammar, being often used where the genitive might be expected, as, δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν, "terribly did her (*for her* the) eyes gleam." Again, of things, where a genitive absolute would be used in later Greek κελσάσῃσι δὲ νηυσὶ καθείλομεν ἱστία πάντα ; "when the ships were beached (*for the beached ships*) we took down all the sails."

**Syntax of
Cases.**

ii. The **genitive absolute** was only beginning to be evolved out of the ordinary genitive—whether of time or of circumstance is not clear. Many apparent cases of gen. abs. can be simply explained as ordinary genitives.¹ The use of the mere participle without a subject hardly occurs (if at all) ; and in general the aorist participle is much less common than the present in the absolute construction.

iii. The use of **prepositions** is more extended in Homeric grammar, perhaps because they were still felt to be adverbs. Hence as prefixes they are compounded loosely, and are used separately by what is erroneously styled **tnesis**. Again, μετά, ἀνά, and ἀμφί are found frequently with the dative, and ἐπί with the dative to express hostility. The accusative occurs without a preposition, as in μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο, "she came to the suitors."

iv. The **nominative plural neuter** may take a plural verb more commonly than in later Greek.

In Homer the so-called article is mostly used as a *demonstrative* (its original meaning) or else as a *relative* (its derived meaning). It is true, indeed, that occa-

¹ e.g., *Od.* i. 390, καί κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε δίδόντος ἀρέσθαι though apparently a gen. abs. might be rendered "from the hands of Zeus" as a true genitive of separation.

Use of the
so-called article,

ὁ, ἡ, τό.

sionally the later use of ὁ ἡ τό as a real article does occur in Homer, but in many places this may be naturally explained as a demonstrative with noun in opposition. This is clear from the order of the words in: *τά δ' ἐπώχετο κῆλα θεοῖο*, "but they came on—the darts of the god."¹

Thus the absence of the article is the ordinary thing, and does not, as we might suppose, imply indefiniteness. ὁς, ἡ, ὅ has a demonstrative as well as a relative force, especially if occurring with οὐδέ, μηδέ, καί, or γάρ. But this is almost or quite confined to the *Iliad*.

Particles are very frequent in Homer, and a knowledge of them may often be necessary for the understanding

Uses of
Particles.

of the text, though on the other hand there are numerous instances in which they either do not carry any special meaning, or else one which it is hardly possible clearly to trace.

i. For instance, one use of τε much insisted on by grammarians is adverbial, and has the effect of marking a clause as *indefinite*. Hence its use in gnomic clauses and similes. On the other hand, as τε is also used as a mere *connective*, its force is obscured, and indeed it is probable that its use is sometimes determined by metrical reasons.

ii. Contrariwise, one of the uses of κε(ν) is to make a clause *definite*, and this force can very often be clearly discerned.

But as κε(ν) is practically identical with ἄν, it has many other uses, some of which have been already discussed.

iii. The most common conjunction to introduce a final clause is ὅφρα, but ὅπως, ἵνα, κ.τ.λ., are also found.

iv. The use of δέ as in Attic is to emphasise the introduction of an apodosis (called δέ *in apodosis*). δὲ has

¹ On the other hand it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between the demonstrative and the relational use. But this is common to English in the use of 'that,' and to other languages.

also its Attic emphasising force; but in Homer it can stand first in its clause.

v. *πρὶν* has both an adverbial and conjunctive force—sometimes the two uses answer one another, as in *Iliad* i. 95-6.

οὐδ' ὃ γε πρὶν ἀφέξει πρὶν δόμεναι.

vi. *οὖν* has not the strong illative meaning it bears in later Greek. It merely adds a slight emphasis to a word, as *ἐπεὶ οὖν*, *when now*: so also *νῦν*.

vii. *εἰ* (αἰ) has sometimes a sort of exclamatory force. *εἰ δ' ἄγε*, *come now!*

viii. *ἤμην* *ἡδέ* answer one another in the sense of *both . . . and*: *ἡδέ* (ἰδέ) can be also used by itself, and means *and*.

Many other points might be remarked, but perhaps the above will suffice.

i. A figure of speech which is eminently characteristic of Homeric style as illustrating the primitive simplicity of its structure is that known as **para-**

Characteristic **taxis**. It consists in the multiplication of co-ordinate clauses when subordinate figures of speech. ones would be more natural in developed language. Thus the relation of cause and effect is left to be assumed or implied without being stated. The evolution of the relative from the demonstrative illustrates one stage of progress from parataxis to subordination. There is a good instance of this figure in the fifth line of the *Iliad*, *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*, "*While* (lit. *but*) the will of Zeus was being accomplished." The paratactic clause frequently takes the place of a participial clause.

ii. Side by side with parataxis we notice in Homer an indifference as to **change of subject** in clauses—a thing avoided in the maturer Greek style.

iii. **Stereotyped expressions** are common, a love of them being peculiar to children and child-like audiences. They are also a relief to the memory of one reciting. Speeches in particular are introduced by set phrases which always comprise a single and complete verse. There are also many stereotyped phrases for recurring

actions, such as *eating* and *drinking*, *retiring to rest*, *putting on armour*, *falling in battle*, etc.

iv. Another peculiarity is **periphrasis**, or substitution of a complete phrase for a simple name, such as Πρίαμοιο βίη, "the might of Priam," for Priam. So Πυλαϊμένεος λάσιον κῆρ. We may compare ἐλεύθερον ἡμᾶρ for freedom, and other similar expressions.

v. Special **emphasis** is imparted by the repetition of words and phrases. This repetition will always be found to occur at the beginning of a new verse, where of course it is more marked.

Many other figures, as **zeugma**, **litotes**, **chiasmus**, etc., occur, but are common to Homeric and to later Greek, and therefore do not require further mention here.

One very marked feature of the poems is the use of epithets. They are frequently **stereotyped** or **stock**

Homeric Epithets.

epithets, referring to some general attribute, as νῆες θαλά, πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, even though the ships are *stationary* and the sea *calm*. So proper nouns have

special epithets more or less appropriated to themselves, till they become sometimes like part of the proper names. This is so common that it is unnecessary to give examples. It is also common in Homer to find a multiplication of epithets with the same noun, especially at the commencement of a verse. There are a large number of elaborate epithets, some of them frequently occurring, of which the etymology and even the exact meaning is much disputed. The progress of philology tends to reduce their number, but it is probable that a large residuum will resist final analysis. Some of them are no doubt due to an admixture of early, non-Hellenic, forms of speech in the Homeric language.

The Homeric vocabulary is remarkable for its size and variety, and there are a considerable number of

Vocabulary and meaning of words.

words used only once and others not often used. Notwithstanding this fact there are very many words that we might expect to find in Homer which are conspicuous by their absence, including such common words as λόγος, δοῦλος, μέρος, σόφος, βάρβαρος, αἰσθάνομαι, ζητῶ,

σπείρω. (Some of these, however, occur in derivatives or compounds.)

It is also necessary for the student to remark that many, even common, words which are found in Homer, occur there with a different meaning from the ordinary one in later Greek. For instance, φόβος means, not fear, but '**panic**' or '**flight**'; σῶμα is used only of a **corpse**, not of a living body; πόλεμος is '**battle**,' rather than 'war'; πέμπω **to escort**, rather than 'to send'; ἔγχος means '**spear**,' never 'sword;' and so with a host of others which will be learned best by observation. In the use of certain words, too, as will be noted later, there is a distinction between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

As quantities vary in Homer, and some words have a different quantity from what they hold in Attic, the accent may be affected, as ἴσος in Homer is written ἴσος.

It should hardly be necessary to point out the importance of close attention to metrical questions in the study of Homer. For one reason the de-

Homeric Verse— cision of questions regarding dialect and
The Pause. the text generally must in great measure depend not merely on the strict exigencies of the metre, but also on what can be shown to be the preferences of those who used it. Among such considerations the rules for the Pause¹ hold a foremost place.

i. The **principal pause** comes *near the centre* of the verse; but it must be a **cæsure**, *i.e.*, it must cut one of the feet. Being near the centre of the line, it nearly always cuts the third foot.² There are strong reasons for maintaining that the hexameter was formed out of the two halves which are separated by this central cæsure.

ii. Another rather important pause frequently occurs at the *end of the fourth foot*, and is called by grammarians the **Bucolic Diæresis**.³ It is a favourite but of course not a necessary division, and is marked like the

¹ By a *Pause* is meant a division between words.

² This cæsure is called *penthemimeral*, and it occurs in every line of Homer with the exception of 256 verses. If absent there must then be a *hepthemimeral* cæsure, that in the *fourth* foot.

³ This sort of pause is called a *diæresis*, not a *cæsure*, because it does not cut a foot.

central cæsure by a tendency to admit hiatus, or the non-elision of a final vowel.

iii. Diæresis after the 3rd foot (or precisely in the middle of the verse) is not permitted. Neither is it common to admit a trochaic cæsure in the 4th foot.¹ In the 5th foot on the other hand, the trochaic cæsure is preferred. Thus we must write in the fourth line of the *Iliad* ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν (not ἐλώρι' ἔτευχε) whereas in the second line ἀλγέ' ἔθηκεν is preferable to ἄλγεα θῆκεν.

iv. **Spondaic** verses, *i.e.*, verses whose 5th foot is a spondee, are more common in Homer than in Virgil (where they also occur); but where there is Bucolic Diæresis two spondees may not follow. Thus 'Ηὼ δῖαν at the end of a verse should be uncontracted, 'Ηῶα δῖαν.

v. Notice that the principal cæsure of the verse generally corresponds with a **break in the sense**, which is frequently shown by the punctuation.

Elision is the cutting off a final vowel or diphthong before a following vowel; and **half-elision** the shortening of a final long vowel or diphthong in such a way that half appears to be elided. This latter occurs regularly and quite frequently when the final long vowel or diphthong is in the second half of the foot, and so **without ictus**.² Thus it occurs in three successive feet in *Iliad* i. 299:

οὔτε σοί, | οὔτε τῷ | ἄλλῳ ἔ | πεῖ μ' ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες.

On the other hand a **long syllable with ictus**³ will not suffer half-elision, but will remain long before another vowel.

But when a short vowel, or a long vowel in the second half of a foot, irregularly fails to be elided, we have what is called **metrical hiatus**. This is chiefly due to one of two causes—the loss of an initial consonant of

¹ By *trochaic cæsure* is meant cæsure after the second syllable of a dactyl, thus | — ~, ~ | This cæsure is also termed *feminine*. The other cæsure after the first syllable, thus | —, ~ ~ | or | —, — | is called *masculine*. In the principal pause the feminine cæsure is slightly the more frequent of the two.

² Called *in arsi*.

³ Called *in thesi*.

the following word (generally the Digamma); or the pause, as has been already explained. Other cases which are not covered by these two explanations may occasionally occur, but not frequently. We shall see, moreover, that some vowels which are usually short were not so originally, and there are a few vowels not subject to elision. Hiatus in these cases need not surprise us.

i. A certain number of root syllables are common in Homer, more particularly in the case of proper names.

Thus the first syllable of Ἀπόλλων may **Vowel-quantity.** be long or short according to necessity.

(So we have Ἀχιλλεύς and Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς and Ὀδυσσεύς, which is convenient.) Again, though Πρίαμος has its first syllable short, it is regularly lengthened in Πριάμειδης. So we have ἀθανατος, θυγάτηρ (cf. θυγάτηρ) for three short syllables cannot come together.¹

ii. Among final vowels that are commonly short but sometimes long are:—

(a) Final -ι in dat. sing. The corresponding -i in Latin is long, and in Greek it is seldom elided.

(β) The final -α of neuter plur. It is probable though perhaps not certain that its original quantity was long.

iii. Short **final vowels** can be regularly **lengthened before the liquids** λ, μ, ν, ρ, and sometimes before σ and before certain words commencing with δ, as δέος, δήν. (Words of this kind may have had a second initial consonant originally.)

iv. Vowels are regularly lengthened before a double consonant and before two consonants (except some cases of *a mute followed by ρ and λ*), and this rule (unlike Latin) applies to a final vowel followed by a word commencing with two consonants. There are some exceptions, mostly in the case of a proper noun, like Ζάκυνθος, which could not occur unless preceded by a short.

¹ Quite irrespective of metre we see a tendency even in Attic to avoid a collocation of short syllables—thus is explained the rule of comparison of adjectives which gives us σοφώτερος.

v. A few verses seem to begin with a short syllable, but in many cases an explanation can be given.

vi. The most frequent cause of the lengthening of short syllables, as of apparent hiatus, is the loss of a consonant, mentioned above. This is so important a matter that it will receive a separate treatment.

i. The existence of the Digamma in early Greek can be proved partly by inscriptions, and partly by comparison with cognate languages, such as

Loss of Digamma and other consonants. Sanskrit, Latin, German and English. What is more pertinent to our enquiry

is the direct evidence from our poems of the former presence of the Digamma in Homeric Greek. It consists partly of traces in the formation of words, and of what we may call *positive* traces in other letters which have sometimes replaced the Digamma; but these cases are comparatively rare. The more common cases are those of the complete disappearance of the letter, leaving only a trace **in the metre**.

ii. Such metrical traces are two-fold; consisting of **hiatus** where the digamma occurred by itself; and of **length by position** where the digamma occurred along with another consonant. If these two phenomena were found regularly and consistently wherever the same digammated words occur in the Homeric verse, there would be no great trouble. But what makes the phenomena very confusing is a certain irregularity in the operation of the lost sound, and the fact that some words show more irregularity than others. It was stated above that the antiquity of the poems as compared with the hymns may be established (among other proofs) by the fact that the effect of the Digamma is more uniformly felt in the former than in the latter. Yet about 600 places occur in the poems where the digamma is treated as non-existent in the metre. Some editors reduce these by various easy emendations—on the supposition that the MS. readings are due to scribes who did not understand the effect of the lost sound and tried to make their text metrical without it. If these emended readings are accepted, the non-observances might be reduced without violence to about half, or

one-eleventh of the 3,300 places where the Digamma is observed.¹

iii. Several theories have been propounded by Homeric scholars to account for the above facts regarding the traces of the Digamma in Homer.² It is hardly possible at present to decide anything very positively on the subject, but what it seems at least to point to, is the gradual formation of the poems at least in their present shape. On the other hand it is usually admitted that the presence or absence of traces of the Digamma cannot be adopted to any great extent, as a test for distinguishing earlier from later work.

iv. The consonant σ had a tendency to disappear in Greek, both from the initial position and between two vowels, where it becomes τ in Latin. (Thus $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha(\sigma)\omega\nu$, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\hat{\omega}\nu$ is equivalent to *musarum*.) In addition to this letter there was a γ (yod) sound which disappeared; and very often two consonants have both gone, as in $\eta\delta\upsilon\varsigma$ compared with *suavis* (for *suadvis*). So $\delta\varsigma$ possessive was $\sigma\phi\omicron\varsigma$, and is equivalent to *suus*: the rough breathing being all that is left of the initial double consonant.

A few remarks may be made on *crasis* and *synizesis*, though there is perhaps nothing very special to Homeric Greek in the use of them.

**Crasis and
Synizesis.**

Crasis is comparatively rare, being most common in compounds of $\pi\rho\acute{o}$, and being sometimes due to late copyists of the text.

On the other hand *synizesis* is rather characteristic of Homer, especially in the last foot of the verse. It is also used as in the case of $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ to escape a combination of syllables otherwise impossible. The most common use of this expedient is to unite $-\epsilon\omega$, also $-\epsilon\alpha$ and $-\epsilon\omicron$ in a single syllable. Combinations of $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ and $\delta\eta$ with a following vowel, and phrases like $\mu\grave{\eta}\ \delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ also occur as in the tragedians.

¹ Where the Digamma is observed, the cases of hiatus are more common than those of position by about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

² It is interesting to note that the English scholar Bentley was the first to account for the metrical peculiarities of Homer by the loss of the Digamma, and he printed it in a quotation as early as 1732. It was quite unknown to Aristarchus and the Alexandrians.

CHAPTER II

The Homeric Bards

§ 1. Traditional belief in a personal
Homer

AFTER more than a century of investigation the authorship of the Homeric poems still remains a difficult and complex problem. Whether the controversy aroused by the publication of **How we approach the Homeric Controversy.** Wolf's *Prolegomena* in 1795 will ever be finally closed it is now impossible to predict ; all that we can safely assert is that we know a good deal more of Homeric subjects than did our predecessors of more than a century ago. Much that was bitterly argued is now admitted ; the tendency to acquiesce in certain definite theories appears to be a progressive one ; and, what is most important, we are in a position to form clearer views as to what is now reasonably certain, and what still vague and speculative.

The subject of the Homeric authorship and the controversy about it is a large one, and admits of almost infinite variety of treatment. On the one hand, as it seems to the present writer, the important thing for beginners is to be told clearly and even emphatically what is tenable with a moderate degree of certitude as to the Homeric bards : on the other hand, in a treatise which aims at even the relative completeness of a Handbook, some account of the Homeric controversy from an historical point of view will be probably expected by those who consult it. It might have been attempted to combine these two sorts of information into a single chapter, but I have thought it would conduce to

clearness and intelligibility to separate the dogmatic from the historical treatment, and to give each of them a chapter to itself. In the present one on the Homeric Bards, it is my intention to state what, to the best of my belief, appears to be fairly well established even though not in every case capable of the most rigid demonstration. Everyone who thinks long and earnestly about a large and complex subject, must, no doubt, have his own way of viewing arguments and basing conclusions upon them. But the views that are set forth in the present chapter are, I believe, those which more or less prevail among modern scholars. For this reason I put them forth with something like confidence, and not because they are my own private opinions. I neither expect nor desire that my statements shall escape criticism; but as I endeavour to keep to the beaten track, and not to give arbitrary decisions on what is still matter of controversy, I hope that nothing very extravagant will be detected, at least in the main outlines of the following statement.

During antiquity and down to the end of the eighteenth century, it was almost universally taken for granted that the Homeric poetry was the outcome of a single mind just as the works of any well-known writer of ancient or modern times. It is true that an occasional doubt may have been expressed on the subject,¹ but hardly so as to interfere with what was practically a *consensus* of opinion. We are now to consider what arguments have been advanced in support of the single personality of Homer. They may be conveniently considered under two headings—the external evidence of the tradition itself; and the internal evidence supposed to be detected in the structure and style of the poems. We shall treat of these subjects separately, and show that the evidence is not so strong as it may look.

¹ For instance the Paradox of Xenon, who held that the author of the *Iliad* was a distinct poet from the author of the *Odyssey*. Those who held this view were called, by the Alexandrians, *οἱ χωρίζοντες*.

We may at once say boldly that there is not really any external evidence even for the existence of Homer, much less for his authorship of the poems. This is an important point, for many who cling to the older and uncritical belief in the personality of Homer think that scepticism on the point is like scepticism as to the works attributed to Virgil, Dante, or any other historical writer. Whereas we can prove that the tradition as to a personal Homer has no *independent* existence, but is wholly based on the evidence supplied by the poems themselves. It must be remarked that we are not denying the existence of the tradition nor (as yet) its significance. What we are maintaining is merely that its significance is not the same as it would be, if it even alleged any independent information about Homer except the statement that he composed the poems in question. An illustration will make this clearer. Certain theological writings were traditionally attributed to Denis the Areopagite; now he at least was a man of whose existence we have historical testimony independent of the works in question. Whatever may be thought of the attribution to him of those works, it is certainly less shadowy than it would be if nothing whatever were *known or alleged* about him except the statement that he composed the treatises bearing his name.

But is it true that antiquity does not bear testimony to anything about Homer except that he composed the poems? Nothing really, except what was taken from the Homeric poems or hymns which were all attributed to the same individual. Various cities claimed to be the birth-place of Homer—they were mostly Ionian cities of Asia, and there was a more or less unanimous opinion that he lived in Ionia; but the fact of the existence of the poems in the Ionian dialect would sufficiently account for that belief. In any case the conflict of claims as to the place of his origin cannot of itself be appealed to as an evidence of historical reality—though it is of course by no means inconsistent with it.

Again, Homer was frequently spoken of as the 'blind bard who dwelt in rocky Chios'; a phrase occurring in

the hymn to the Delian Apollo,¹ and expressly connected with Homer by Thucydides² when treating of the history of Delos. This can scarcely be considered independent testimony. Once grant that the ancients, including Thucydides, implicitly and unquestioningly accepted the current tradition (which included the hymns and other admittedly spurious poems in the same authorship), and the application of the phrase in question naturally followed as a matter of course. All that we can assert is that the author of the hymn used the phrase of himself, and that Thucydides believed that author to have been Homer, and that (in any case) he was wrong.

Other phrases have been, in like manner, attributed to Homer, and one or two facts related of him (as the name of his father) in late forgeries of the Christian era, which, however, can throw no light on a tradition which is traced back to nearly seven hundred years before Christ. Hence we repeat there is no *external* evidence for the tradition, nothing indeed for the tradition beyond the fact of the tradition itself, and this merely asserts that the poems were the work of one man, whose name was Homer. It seems hardly necessary, therefore, to discuss the question whether 'Homer' is a proper name or not. Certain authorities have contended that the Greek form "Ομηρος³ simply means the 'Compiler.' But many grammarians deny the possibility of this, and it is scarcely worth while to lay stress upon the possible meaning of the name. On the other hand the tradition is of less value in testifying to a personal Homer when we consider the propensity of the Greeks to attribute effects of every sort to definite and personal causes. To this tendency may be traced many of their ideas not merely in the domain of mythology proper, but of history also. The Achæans were all descended from one Achæus; the demesmen of Colonus from a man of the name; the Athenian laws came from Solon, the Spartan from Lycurgus, and so on. Possessing

¹ l. 172.

² Book iii., ch. 104.

³ Connected with ὁμῶν, together. Dr. Jebb argues that "Ομηρος should have a passive sense = 'fitted together.'

a great national heirloom, thoroughly appreciating its grandeur, knowing that it was utterly distinct in dialect, metre, and ideas from everything else they knew, they took it for granted that the poetry was all the work of a single, and a supreme, bard. But we may view the question on other and broader grounds.

It is impossible, under these circumstances, for us to see any real evidence of a personal Homer in the fact of such a vague tradition of antiquity. Does it then prove nothing? It confirms the view which we can surmise on other grounds, namely, that the Greeks received the poems from Ionia. We might perhaps add that it lends a certain probability to the supposition that at Smyrna, Chios and Colophon (which cities were believed to have the best claims to Homer), there were bards of eminence, or perhaps schools of epic poetry, in the period immediately preceding that to which the tradition of a personal Homer can be still followed back.

It remains for us therefore to turn to the poems themselves, and to see if they contain any internal evidence as to the unity of their authorship.

Internal evidence for Homer the only test. We may or may not by this method be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion; but at least no other rational

method of inquiry is open to us. It will be necessary to divest ourselves of all prejudice before entering on this study. The minds of some, not merely young people, revolt at what appears to them like the vandalism of disruptive criticism, and they scornfully point to the excesses committed by some in their attempts to undermine the claims of accredited authors to their writings. Such good souls deprecate as reckless any attempts to solve the Homeric question except on the ground of sentiment and loyalty to the greatest name in literature. Moreover, they appeal to the grandeur of Homer's epic style as an evident proof not merely of his existence, but of his personal supremacy over all other poets. Now, it cannot be denied that this attitude has, on the face of it, a certain reasonableness. As for the ancients, so for us, the Homeric poems are impressed with a certain homogeneity of style and treatment which

makes for unity of authorship. They are so utterly unlike all else in the literature not merely of Greece, but of the world, that it is easy to be blind to the enormous divergencies they contain, and to forget that they are not merely a couple of sublime poems, but also a distinct literature. In like manner lovers of the English Bible, whose minds have been trained and nurtured in it as in the atmosphere they breathe, come to regard the authorized version as a book rather than a compilation of the literary records of a people, and yet they know that the Scriptures contain not merely philosophy and literature in prose and verse, but history extending over a very long space of time. If it were all homogeneous in form as well as (to some extent) in spirit, we may guess how much more difficult it would be for them to divest themselves of their false impression. The fact is that when groups of objects or even of persons are separated from their natural surroundings, we are apt to forget their individual differences in the contrast they present to what is palpably of a diverse order. Now the Homeric poems come down to us from a remote epoch of which we have but few other traces. They express a certain set of ideas, in language and metre of a definite and traditional type. If they are not the work of an individual they are certainly the work of a school, and that a comparatively primitive school with a very limited experience and range of thought, and therefore working in what is to us a narrow groove. We need not, then, be surprised if on closer inspection we find that our first impressions of unity need correction. We must rather be prepared to find that the sort of unity which we detect, and which undoubtedly exists in Homeric poetry, is the unity which must characterise a primitive school of high creative power, and not necessarily the unity of an individual poetic mind.

In the present Section we claim to have shown merely, 1° that outside the poems there is no evidence worth considering for the existence of the Homer of tradition; and 2°, that although there may appear to be a sort of *internal* evidence for the tradition, this cannot possibly stand in face of conclusive evidence to the contrary.

§ 2. Gradual Composition of the Poems

The point of view of modern Homeric scholarship is not the same as that of the critics whom we hear of in Alexandrian times under the name of the Chorizontes. They refused indeed to believe that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were the work of a single bard, because they recognised discrepancies in the language and treatment of the poems such as betokened at least duality of authorship. In this they were right—we also discern a vast gulf which seems to separate the older work in the poems from the later—and it will be the business of the present Section to illustrate the width and the nature of that gulf, and to demonstrate, if possible, that so far from its being bridged over by a single lifetime it stretches over a period which must include several generations or more probably even several ages of human thought and civilisation.

**Our point
of view
defined.**

But the distinction is not for us between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as perfect wholes. We take the two poems together and find in them a line of cleavage between the early and the late; and although it is true we find that the *Odyssey* as a whole is certainly on one side of the line, it is not so with regard to that which is in many respects rightly classed as the more primitive poem. In the following Sections we shall see, first, that right through the heart of the *Iliad* this cleavage runs—splitting it into its component portions; and secondly, that the later portion (and this is very interesting and perhaps unexpected) not merely is easily dissociated from the earlier, but also shows strong and striking affinities with the *Odyssey*, suggesting irresistibly that it originated with the *Odyssey* and must be referred with it to a single epoch as well as to a single locality for its composition.

Bearing in mind this complex character of the *Iliad*, and that it is not all equally primitive, we may for purposes of general contrast regard it as earlier than the *Odyssey*, for the latter on the whole betokens a much more advanced stage of human development than the *Iliad* regarded from the side of its more obvious indications of early date. And we are in this Section not professedly dealing with the unity of the *Iliad* as such, but with the unity (of authorship) of the Homeric poems taken together.

In order that the reader may at the outset understand at least the general force of the propositions which are to be submitted to him, he is requested to recall the line of argument by which we sought to establish the lateness of the Cyclic as compared with the Homeric poems proper. We saw that there was a general and superficial similarity which had caused the ancients sometimes to class all this mass of literature as the outcome of a single author. And we remarked that although the loss of the Cyclic poems precluded us from adopting a linguistic test to prove a separate authorship, yet we knew enough of their contents from the summaries of Proclus to be able to assure ourselves that although they treated of Homeric myth they did so in a way that betrayed a much later stage of mythological evolution, and therefore on the whole a notably later epoch, than that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This argument is irrefragable, and moreover, its acceptance is practically universal.

But in the present instance having the text of the literature which is to be compared before us on both sides, our task should be easier. Now, we can take not merely the contents of the poems and compare them in regard to mythology (and other more important matters), but we have the language also, and by submitting it to a careful, though not over-abstruse, analysis, we have abundant means of proving that there is at least one line of cleavage running through the poems, namely that which we have indicated

Analogy of argument regarding date of Cyclic Poems.

splitting off the earlier portions of the *Iliad* from all the rest of the Homeric epic which has reached us. We say *at least one* cleavage, because we prefer to keep here to what is plain and palpable. Some critics go much further and insist with great minuteness on indications of comparative date in individual passages of the poems, which theories may or may not be capable of proof. In the case of some very celebrated theories we shall give a brief outline of them when dealing with the history of the controversy. But for the beginner it is much more important that he should see clearly the reasons for holding what may be called the great and fundamental truths of Homeric criticism, than that his memory should be overburdened and his mind bewildered by minute and complex theories. Besides, when comparatively unimportant details are brought forward, they are apt to distract the learner and to destroy his sense of proportion which is essential to grasping the force of such arguments. On the other hand the reader must bear in mind that our argument will be essentially of a cumulative nature, and therefore to overthrow it, it would not be enough to show that it has somewhere a weak point or even two.

It may be as well to premise before proceeding with the argument that it will not be based upon what may be called minor discrepancies. By these are meant chiefly detailed inconsistencies in the story, as for instance, when a hero who has been killed in an early book is found alive and uninjured in a later one.¹ Upon such points of detail it would be unwise to found an argument. Possibly when a large number occur together, their united force may have a certain weight, though the familiar Horatian phrase 'bonus dormitat Homerus' might fairly account for a great deal. Moreover, it has been pointed out by such a severe critic as Mr. Walter Leaf that it is remarkable that more errors do not occur in poems of such length and

¹ This refers to Pulæmenes who is slain in the fifth book of the *Iliad*, l. 576, and appears as a mourner at his son's funeral in the thirteenth book l. 658.

complexity, especially if we believe they were transmitted by memory.

There is another consideration of importance which we may mention here as excluding any insistence on the minor discrepancies in question. Supposing we were to grant for the sake of argument that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even in their present form, were substantially the work of a single mind, yet the theory would be in no way inconsistent with the admission of short interpolations, and indeed critics of all schools take it for granted that single lines or even considerable passages (of a minor sort) may have crept into our text of Homer as of the classics in general. It is necessary to distinguish between such minor interpolations and interpolations or rather expansions on a grand scale—such as would interfere with the character and tone of the poems when considered as organic wholes. Now, when we meet slight or verbal discrepancies such as we think are not due to the original author, we might still account for them on the score of interpolation in the more limited sense.

Putting aside, therefore, debatable questions of detail, the position we take up on larger grounds is that, taking them as substantial wholes, the poems in their present state absolutely exclude the theory of single authorship. Nor is it merely a question of materials antecedent to a work of art and introduced into it. Those who have to account for the facts of the Homeric problem sometimes try to evade the real issue by vague admissions that before Homer's time there may have been rude ballad-mongers who supplied the great poet with materials which were worked by him into his epic much as, for instance, large sections of North's translation of 'Plutarch's Lives' were incorporated into the historical plays of Shakespeare. It is impossible to deal adequately here with this theory without anticipating a great deal that has to be laid down later about the structure of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. We merely refer to it in order to define the position that is to be maintained in the present Section, which is that the epoch of **genuine poetic creativeness**

during which the poems were composed lasted during, at least one, or far more probably more than one, century.¹

We may take the linguistic argument first, as it is of great moment. The technicalities of the Homeric

**Development of
language during
composition of
Poems.**

dialect have been already treated of, though from a different point of view; and we have also described some of the leading features and principles of Homeric grammar. That we may not weary the reader by going over the same ground again, we can here simply remind him of two special characteristics which Homeric language bears on its very surface. As compared with other forms of Greek it is antique; and it is a literary, not a spoken dialect. That it is antique is quite clear to all who know the merest rudiments of historical Greek grammar, and indeed this science is largely built upon our knowledge of Homeric forms. That it is also literary, and even depends to a great extent upon metrical expedients, is also sufficiently evident. For instance, there are five forms, with as many metrical values, for the simple idea 'to be,' namely, ἔμμεναι, ἔμεναι, εἶναι, ἔμμεν, and ἔμεν. That these, or even more numerous variants should exist *successively* in a single dialect would cause no surprise to the philologist, but it would be very hard to persuade him that they could exist simultaneously in a spoken dialect. Many similar examples could of course be added, but are unnecessary. In the above instance the forms are in themselves natural, but we have seen the existence of other forms which the bards invented to suit the metre, and in some instances made egregious mistakes in inventing.

Now the mere fact of the composite character of Homeric poems agrees very well with the theory of the gradual formation of the poems, though it does not by itself necessitate it. Pindar's dialect is probably

¹ We may, of course, take it for granted that the later Homeric work was to some extent imitative of the earlier: but critics who admit this are yet agreed that some of the later work in both poems is of the finest and most genuinely Homeric quality.

composite—that of modern English poets certainly is, although there is no question of composite authorship. Still the Homeric poets were simple and did not work from external models as did Pindar, who, like Æschylus, was specially under Homer's spell.

What we must do is look beneath the surface and examine whether in the *Odyssey*, or even in those portions of the *Iliad* which we have other grounds for believing to be late, we can clearly detect any progressive tendency towards the use of speech which is less genuinely archaic and more literary and artificial.¹ The mere occurrence of simpler or more developed dialectical forms will hardly help us here, as there can be little doubt, apart from any special theories as to the composition of the poems, that the text must have been dialectically modified in transmission especially in early times.

But we may consider the matter under three distinct heads ; namely (i.) use of words ; (ii.) rules of syntax ; and (iii.) metrical peculiarity.

The enormous number of words found in Homer is very remarkable, including an abnormal list of

ἄραξ λεγόμενα ; this might of itself raise

(i.) **Vocabulary.** a suspicion that the poetry is not the outcome of a single epoch. What is, however more directly to our purpose is to consider the marked distinction between the older and the later poetry in the use of words. There are not merely a large number of words which are found only in the *Odyssey*, apparently because they came into use comparatively late, some of them expressing advanced ideas or civilisation ;² but many words, especially epithets, found frequently in the *Iliad* had either

¹ In this treatment of Homeric linguistic, it is hardly necessary to acknowledge our obligation to Dr. Monro, the great English authority on Homeric grammar. The comparison between the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is very ably worked out both in in his *Homeric Grammar*, and more explicitly in his later work (*Odyssey* xiii-xxiv.), where he refers to the German authorities Sittl and Friedlander. See appendix 324 ff.

² Vid. infra. The list of his words peculiar to the *Odyssey* is a very long one.

become obsolete or were tending to do so when the later poetry was being composed. Certain hieratic epithets, such as Δωδωναῖος, Πελασγικός (of Zeus) or Σμινθεύς (of Apollo) occur but once and always in the *Iliad*; others are more frequent, βοώπις (of Hera), ἑλικώπες (often of the Achæans), and a long list of others which hardly occur except in the *Iliad*. Sometimes a word occurs¹ in the *Odyssey*, but with a changed meaning as δαίφρων, or in a variant form as ἀλεγύνω instead of ἀλεγίζω.

What is more remarkable still is the presence of late forms like οὐνεκα (in the sense of that);² μὲν οὖν in the *Odyssey* only, whereas μῆν (or μάν) is very common in the *Iliad*,³ but hardly occurs in the *Odyssey*. The same is true of the reflexive ἑο οἱ κ.τ.λ.

We have purposely refrained from instancing words whose occurrence might depend to a great extent on the subject matter of the poems, e.g. the vocabulary of fighting, or of seamanship.

When we turn to syntax, which is such an important test of the growth of language, we are on firm ground.

The distinction between Homeric and later Greek in the use of the so-called

(ii.) Syntax.

Article is most interesting, and of itself shows what a chasm may exist between two simple stages of syntactical development. Originally there was no article proper—the form did duty for personal, demonstrative, and relative pronouns. Now it is well known that occasionally traces are found in Homer of the more modern use of ὁ ἡ τό as a real article, or as something approaching it. According to Monro we can not merely detect a difference between earlier and later work; but in the tenth *Iliad* which is considered the latest of all the books, “the use of the article appears clearly later than in any other part of Homer.”⁴

Again, syntactical constructions which cannot but denote a comparatively late period of linguistic growth

¹ In the *Iliad* ‘warlike,’ in the *Odyssey* ‘prudent;’ this is according to Buttmann.

² After verbs of saying, 14 times in the *Odyssey*, only twice in the *Iliad*.

³ It occurs 32 times in all.

⁴ *Homeric Grammar* § 265.

are found in the *Odyssey*, and hardly if at all in the *Iliad*. To these belong relative clauses with a final or quasi-final sense as :

ἀμφὶ δὲ λαῖφος
ἔσσω ὃ κε στυγέησιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα.¹

The same tendency can be traced in clauses of εἰ after verbs of 'saying and thinking,' a definitely modern idiom; and what is most remarkable, the use of *κεν* in hypothetical clauses is approximating to later syntax in the *Odyssey*.²

The use of prepositions differs in the later work from that in the earlier, in having a wider range and in some respects in approximating towards Hellenic (e.g. Attic) usage. Such, for instance, is the use of ἐκ = 'in consequence of;'³ so *πρὸς* (πρὸς) with dative in sense of 'in addition to;'⁴ *περὶ* is not (as in the *Iliad*) restricted to a contest about anything.

The supposed presence of the Digamma in the Homeric poems is an extremely complicated subject, upon which a great variety of views have been and are still in vogue among scholars. It has been already stated that the observances and neglects of this consonant when computed have given valuable results with regard to the age of the Hymns as compared with the Homeric poems; and it is rather disappointing to find that it does not throw as clear a light as we might have expected upon the relative age of the Poems themselves. There are, however, certain digammated words which show the presence of the digamma more regularly in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. For instance, *φαρμα*

¹ *Od.* xiii., 399. Of these constructions seventeen out of twenty-four occur in the *Odyssey*. Of a similar group called sometimes *subjunctives of willing* eleven out of thirteen occur in the *Odyssey*, and the other two in *Iliad* ix. and xxiv., two of the latest books.

² That is to say, the optative with *κεν* to express an *unfulfilled condition* is found chiefly in the *Iliad*.

³ Also once in the *Iliad*, but in Book ix. which strengthens the argument.

shows five cases of observance all in the *Iliad*, and none in the *Odyssey*—the violations are equal in number in the two poems. So *ἑρδον* shows even a clearer difference in the same direction. And even if these indications of difference are somewhat slight, yet the phenomena of the Digamma in general seem to point to the gradual formation of the poetry during a process of linguistic change.

When we look to the question of Hiatus in general the facts are striking, for in the Bucolic diæresis—where we have stated above¹ hiatus is frequently permitted, we find this is about twice as common in the *Odyssey* as in the *Iliad*; and in the latter the instances occur in the last two books, which are known to be late work on other grounds. As a rule there is more metrical license as epic proceeds, especially with regard to lengthening of a vowel placed before two consonants, till in the decadence, as is proved not merely by the 'Hymns' and Hesiod, but even by our scanty fragments of the Cyclic poems, the rule becomes quite lax. The difference here between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is remarkable. If cases of metrical necessity² are eliminated the ratio in the later as compared with the earlier work is 3 : 1.

The reader will easily understand from the above that all taken together the modernising tendencies of the epic language becomes very marked, even before the end of the creative period. This is more significant if we remember that on the one hand the epic tradition was strict in its conservatism; and on the other hand that the long period of oral transmission down to and including the Hellenic period must have strongly operated to obliterate linguistic distinctions which existed between parts of the Homeric 'corpus.' Fortunately for science many shades of expression which it can still detect, escaped the notice of the Greek rhapsodes and 'literati.'

K. O. Müller, himself an advocate of single authorship,

¹ See remarks on Metre, chap. i., § 6, p. 76.

² That is when a word cannot be admitted into a hexameter without a licence.

but treating half-a-century ago of the opinion, now antiquated, that each poem proceeded as a complete work from a single though a separate mind, made the following significant admission. "It is clear,"¹ he wrote, "that in the *Odyssey* (as distinct from the *Iliad*) many differences are apparent in the character and manners both of men and gods. The latter appear in milder form and act in unison, without dissension or contest, for the relief of mankind, not, as is so often the case in the *Iliad*, for their destruction."

**Development of
civilisation
during formation
of Poems.**

We have stated that modern criticism does not satisfy itself with the crude device of contrasting merely the *Odyssey* with the *Iliad*. Yet it is certain the two poems even taken as units present sharp contrasts in their subject matter as well as in their language, and not least in the things of religion. This particular point is a representative one, and what makes it of first-rate importance is that with an anthropomorphic conception of higher power such as the Homeric bards possessed, the character and actions of their gods are a true index of their views, and therefore of their experience, of human life. The defenders of the old theory of unity seek to account for the contrasts presented by the poems by pointing to the difference of subject, and indeed Müller proceeds to argue thus in the passage from which we have quoted.

It is true indeed that not merely the treatment but also the subject of the later work, or of much of it, are different from those of the earlier; but may we not argue that the subject treated by the bards is in itself an index of their spirit and of their degree of civilisation? No doubt the *Iliad* (what we believe to be the primitive part especially) breathes fire and blood and slaughter—whereas the *Odyssey* deals to a larger extent with the arts of peace, domestic affection, and foreign travel. If to choose these subjects in preference to the other is not a positive proof of a more advanced

¹ *Literature of Ancient Greece*, ch. v., § 13.

civilisation, at least it is suggestive of it: and on the other hand, both the earlier and the later work are sufficiently complex and all-round in the pictures they present of human life to give us a very good idea of the times in which the authors respectively lived.

To return for a moment to the subject of religion, not only do we find in the poems a marked progression

**Ideas of
Religion.**

towards a finer and more spiritual conception of the divinity, but the very idea of Zeus, the father of the gods himself, undergoes a significant change.

At the earlier period he is considered supreme indeed, but only as the result of a struggle that has lately ended, and still in danger of rebellion from the powers he has subdued. In the later work he is in calm and undisturbed possession of undisputed sovereignty. More than this, Zeus is at first really an elemental god representing the awful and destructive aspects of natural forces. The distribution of epithets in the various parts of Homer show that as time progressed this view was, to say the least, less prominent. The expression *νεφεληγερέτα* (cloud-compelling) occurs more than four times as often in the primitive books of the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey* (and so on with similar epithets); and expressions like "the thunders of Zeus," "the clouds," and "the rain of Zeus," occur far more frequently in the (supposed) primitive than in the later work. In like manner the gods are first represented as dwelling on Olympus an ordinary and well-known mountain of Thessaly described as though known personally to the bards. Later the same Olympus is referred to, but now as a far-off, very shadowy and supra-mundane abode—something like what is meant in modern English poetry by allusions to Olympus. "It standeth fast for ever—not by winds is it shaken nor ever wet with rain, nor doth the snow come nigh it, but a clear air cloudless is spread about it and a white light floateth over it, and there are the blessed gods gladdened for all their days." Again, we are told at an early stage that the gods have blood like ordinary human beings—later another liquid flows in their veins, not blood but

what is named *ἰχώρ*. These are small touches in themselves, but when we view them concurrently we read in them a progress (and one that must have represented a considerable epoch) towards a less strictly anthropomorphic view of divine persons.

This argument from the growth of religious ideas is strengthened when we advert to the views the later bards had on the interference of the gods in human affairs. They no longer conceive of them merely as taking our shape and exercising their power over our bodies; they guide the mind by inspiring it with a thought at a critical moment: "When Athene, of deep counsel shall put it into my heart, I shall nod to thee," says Odysseus to his son.¹ Dr. Jebb treating of this adds, "While the notion of the gods has been thus spiritualized the notion of the supernatural generally takes many fantastic forms, associated with that outer Wonderland beyond the Ægean Zone."

But the progress made during the Homeric period was not confined to ideas about religion. The same tendency is observable regarding moral concepts in general. Here again we cannot do better than quote from Jebb, who treats this subject admirably.

**Ethical
progress.**

"The *Odyssey*, in comparison with the *Iliad* shows more traces of reflexion on questions of right and wrong. There are some additions to the stock of words for expressing the religious or moral feelings."² Such words are *θεουδής*, god-fearing; *νοήμων*, right-minded; *ἁγνή*, holy; and even *δίκαιος*, just. Of these the first three do not occur at all in the *Iliad*, and the last only three times, and then only in the comparative or superlative degree, though it is rather frequently found in the later poem. But arguments from the occurrence of epithets do not represent the full force of the difference between the earlier and the later spirit. It is not easy to define it. It must be felt to be realized, and it is difficult for one who has

¹ *Od.* xvi. 282 (taken from Jebb's *Homer*, p. 52).

² *Homer*, p. 55.

felt it to understand how any unprejudiced person could read large parts of the earlier and the later work continuously without assuring himself that they must have been composed not merely at different, but at widely different, stages of development.

With regard to more detailed mythology a distinct advance can be noted in the later work. For instance,

**Evolution of the
Myth.**

in the *Iliad* the Muse or Muses are spoken of in general without any hint of a special number. But in the *Odyssey*¹ we have

Μοῦσαι δ' ἔννεα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ.

In like manner although the three Fates of later Mythology (e.g. Hesiod) are not definitely fixed, the Fate, *Ἀλσα*, of the primitive bards has already become personified in the plural, as *Μοῖραι*, in the last book of the *Iliad*,² which is not primitive, and, in the *Odyssey* we already hear of *Κλωθες*³ [v.l. *κατακλωθες*] in the sense of spinners, from which the name Clotho, one of the three Fates, was manifestly derived. There is a strong tendency towards the end of the Homeric period to multiply personifications of the simplest ideas. Thus we have the Harpies, originally of the winds, the Snatchers; *Λιταί*, Prayers, "wrinkled and of eyes askance" following after *Ἀτὴ*, Insolence or Infatuation. We have in the whirlpools *Σκύλλα* and *Χάρυβδις* fully developed personalities, for the former's mother who is named⁴ is said to have brought her forth as a bane to mortal men.

A very important matter is that in the later poem we hear of local oracles, especially in the case of Apollo in his celebrated Greek shrines of Delos and even Pytho, afterwards known as Delphi. This is more remarkable because in the *Iliad* Apollo is chiefly connected with a local non-oracular shrine at Tenedos,

¹ Book xxiv. 60.

² *Il.* xxiv. 49.

³ *Od.* vii. 197.

⁴ *Κραταῖν μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης*, *Od.* xii. 124-5.

⁵ In the opening of the *Iliad* there is something like an oracular response, but it is given in the ordinary way by a soothsayer. See *Il.* i., 71-2.

near the Troad, and as was remarked previously he was something of a Trojan divinity. But in the *Odyssey* there is a regular word for the responses of the Oracle, *θέμιστες*,¹ which in the earlier period means simply Precedents, or what ought to be done. The later use of the word also occurs in the Hymn to Apollo,² which makes it all the more significant.

We may mention here that in geographical knowledge a huge advance was made during the period of bloom of epic poetry. When we come to treat of Homeric geography, and indeed of Homeric life in general,³ we shall find it necessary for simplicity's sake to ignore the very differences which we have been insisting on in the present section. Suffice it here to point out that what is sometimes called the Outer geography of Homer really belongs almost exclusively to the period of the later school.

It would be unnecessary to go at great length into all the evidences of social and material progress during the Homeric period. The subject is treated of admirably by the late Dr. **Material** Geddes in his work *The Problem of the civilisation.* *Homeric Poems*. He proves abundantly that there is in the later work a pathos and a humour, but especially a sort of conscious relief in the expression of sorrow—all of which are signs of the further development of the Greek character. The references which he gives to the last-mentioned characteristic of delighting in grief are instructive; standing as they do, in the earlier books none, in the later (*Iliad*) eleven, and (*Odyssey*) sixteen.

There is again more attention in the later work to conjugal affection; to the domestic hearth as the centre of the home and of family life, to the duties and privileges of hospitality; to a less corporal conception of the human soul and its higher faculties; to a less primitive form of marriage; and to many improvements in art, commerce, agriculture, and mechanical

¹ *Od.* xvi. 403.

² l. 394, *θέμιστας Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου*.

³ For Ridgeway's argument from Land-tenure, however, see chap. iv. § 3.

contrivance. For instance, the use of ivory, of stringed instruments, of wind instruments, of weaving (sometimes spoken of metaphorically). Again, it is proved that whereas the horse originally had a position of special prominence, he is fairly supplanted in the later Homeric poetry by the dog, which has become, instead of a ravening beast of prey feeding on human carnage, the trusted and beloved companion of his master. Finally in the *Odyssey* there are several references to *ᾄδοι*, or professional minstrels, and in more than one passage, to the Trojan war as an ordinary and conventional subject of song. This would lead us to surmise that since the *Iliad* had been in existence in some shape or form, epic poetry had received a great impulse, and moreover that the subject of the poem (in which no hint of the professional minstrel occurs) had exercised a special influence over the trend and development of the rising art.

We have still remaining a fairly decisive criterion of lateness in the borrowing of passages from one position in the poems to another. Quite independently of those conventional repetitions which are so characteristic of the Homeric style (and which serve perhaps more than anything else to give to it a superficial and false impression of unity) there are repetitions of another sort due to an attempt at imitation, which is sometimes too patent, and even, as we shall show, clumsily introduced. It does not always require a very close inspection to discover which was the original location of a passage or a phrase, and where it is due to patchwork. The borrowings are always found to be from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*, never 'vice versa.' If there were only one or two such cases they could be easily explained as late interpolations, and some of the borrowings are so unintelligently managed that they must really be attributed to the period of the Rhapsodes, the decadence of epic. For there are some instances where the rules of grammar are scarcely observed, to say nothing of complete misapplication of the original sense.

**Borrowing from
earlier by later
Bards,**

Without then attending to extreme cases of infelicitous borrowings which are not the work of true Homeric bards, we may give one or two instances where it is still clear that the passages have been removed out of a natural to a forced context. Now, clearly the strength of such an argument depends upon the number of decisive passages, which is very great.¹

Therefore the reader will understand that the following instances are merely given by way of illustration. We only take two. In the *Iliad*² one of the best known and admired passages is Hector's farewell to his wife, where he bids her not trouble about him, but to "go and mind her loom and distaff, and other household duties," adding,

πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μέλησει
πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοὶ Ἴλιφ ἔγγεγάασιν.

— "but war shall be a care to men,
To all men, but chiefly to me of all that are in Ilium."

Twice do these noble lines occur in the *Odyssey*, but in how different a context, and with how significant a change! In both places³ it is Telemachus addressing his mother. In one passage he says, "Go and mind your business, but *talking* shall be the care of men, but especially of me, *for mine is the power in the house.*"

τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

These last words seem to be inserted as a tag to fill up the metre more than from any real necessity for them. At least the effect is very different from that of the other passage which is quite clearly more original. In the other passage Telemachus says, "Go and mind your business, but *the bow* (τόξον) shall be the care of men, etc., etc.," including the same weak ending to the

¹ Monro (following Sittl who did good work in this department of criticism) gives 24 strong instances of borrowing *from the Iliad to the Odyssey*, and adds "in other cases the spirit of parody is shown by the use of a lofty epic formula when the subject is unworthy of it."

² *Il.* vi. 490-3.

³ *Od.* i. 356-9, and xxi. 350-3.

line. Monro, in commenting on this passage, speaks of it as a *parody*, which is perhaps a little strong.

The second instance is taken from the words of Achilles,¹ who says to the envoys of Agamemnon in a speech than which no finer, perhaps, has ever been written—in fact, a burst of indignation :

“Hateful to me even as the Gates of Hell is the man
Who should conceal one thing within his breast and say
another.”

Very different do the words sound in the mouth of Odysseus² when he is in the guise of a beggar, and is warned by Eumæus to avoid the ordinary tales that beggars tell. In his reply he uses other very emphatic protestations, and adds :

“Hateful to me even as the Gates of Hell does the man
Become, who, *yielding to poverty, utters wily words.*”

The consideration of such passages³ cannot but strongly confirm the view that these epics contain elements of varying age and originality.

¹ *Il.* ix. 312-13.

² *Od.* xiv. 156-7.

³ It will be noticed that neither of the illustrations given above of borrowing are taken from the *Achilleid*, but from the later books of the *Iliad*. As we have said, on the whole, the *Iliad* is earlier than the *Odyssey*.

§ 3. The Evolution of the *Iliad*

Hitherto our argument has been engaged in laying down the lines along which we may seek to detect the work of earlier and later schools in that body of literature which is still called by the venerated name of Homer. Incidentally it was hinted that the marks of comparative lateness are by no means confined to the poem, which is on the whole the less primitive of the two, but that in the *Iliad* itself there are earlier and later parts. It is now fully time to inspect the structure of this poem and to lay down clearly the reasons for regarding it as the result of a gradual poetic evolution.

We can start our argument from the name of the poem, probably the most glorious name in all literature.

In one sense the title 'Iliad,' which means a poem regarding the city of Ilium or Troy, describes the subject treated of. No doubt the scene of the action is the city, within or without the walls, even though the destruction of the city is not recorded in the poem. But what is the real theme of the poem? It is Achilles, his exploits, but above all his wrath and its consequences. It is noteworthy the first word of the first book (perhaps the finest of all the books), emphasises this :—

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην——

"The wrath of Peleus' son Achilles, sing O goddess,
the woeful wrath"——¹

Assuredly if the *Iliad* has any unity, any plot, if it is a poem and not a congeries of confused scenes of warfare, here is the indication. As a work of art the so-called *Iliad* deals with Achilles and Achilles alone.

¹ It has been also remarked that in like manner the opening word of the *Odyssey* gives its key-note

"Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον——

There may be embellishment, expansion, digression if you will, but what Hamlet is to *Hamlet*, what Satan is to the *Paradise Lost*, in fine, what Odysseus is to the *Odyssey*, that (and more than that) is Achilles to the so-called *Iliad*.

This, then, is our first fact, and the second one surely is startling! There are large portions of the poems (not merely one book or even two, but large sequences of books) in which the hero does not appear, and which have hardly the slightest or perhaps no bearing whatever upon the working out of the plot. Critics may try to explain this fact away, but there it remains staring them in the face. Is there anything like this in literature? It may be said the unity of epic is not so close as that of drama, but has it not also a unity of its own? The only possible conclusion is that what we have in our *Iliad* is a poem enshrined in another poem—not however as a crystal is enshrined in its matrix, but rather as a fossil is enclosed in the surrounding rock. The outlines of the organic form may be, to some extent, hidden and merged in its bed, nor can it be detached without fracture—yet its form can still be discerned and its limits, even if dimly, traced.

Before going on to develop this theory and apply it in further detail, it may be well to point out that it

**Theory of an
Achilleid—**

a 'via media.'

constitutes a sort of *via media* between two opposing theories—that of the extreme conservatives who like Müller, Gladstone and Arnold have striven to defend the absolute unity of Homer, and that of the extreme innovators who would break up the poems into a series of more or less disconnected lays. This last theory is to the prevalent one explained in this chapter, what the cosmical theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms would be to that of a gradual and organic evolution. It may not be possible to trace each individual step in the process of growth—it is something to be able to indicate directions and tendencies, to show what is earlier and what later, and to settle on the criteria by which the relative ages of various parts can be determined. It is *prima facie* probable that the *Iliad* is

complex in its authorship, not merely on account of its want of unity of subject (in its present form), but also because of its great length, its repetitions, its inconsistencies, its varieties of style. Even Aristotle, though taking the poems of Homer as types of what an epic should be, yet hints that they are too long—for he says that if they were shorter they would fall better within his standard of unity. This criticism must clearly apply with much greater force to the *Iliad* than the *Odyssey*, because it is longer by more than a third, and its unity is far less apparent.

And if we consider what Aristotle's criterion of unity is, we shall have to conclude that the *Iliad* falls short of it—seemingly even to a greater extent than he clearly understood. Although he admits that the rule of epic unity is not so rigid as that of dramatic, yet in the main it follows the same principles. It must be concerned with a "single and complete action, having a beginning, a middle and an end, in order that like a single and complete living thing it may provide the pleasure which is proper to it."¹ Nothing could be clearer or more just, and nothing more unlike the *Iliad* in which there are long portions which have no relation to the thread of the story. Again he says that one tragedy or at most two could be constructed out of each of the two Homeric poems, at the same time contrasting in this point the later cyclic poems which he states cannot bear the test, and are not by Homer.² Now all this criticism could hardly be applied to the *Iliad* in its expanded form, but it applies well enough to the *Odyssey*, and evidently Aristotle is thinking more of the shorter and better compacted poem. Most of his illustrations regarding the principles of epic are taken from the *Odyssey*, and when he does refer to the *Iliad*, the praise he bestows on it is equivocal.³ But what is most noticeable is that when he gives a concrete illustration of the quasi-dramatic unity of epic (after it is stript of its *ἐπεισόδια*) he naturally

¹ Arist., *Poetics*, ch. xxiii. § 1.

² *Ibid.* § 4.

³ See chap. xxiv. § 8.

turns to the *Odyssey*, describing its plot in a few words, but without saying a single word about the *Iliad*. Probably he felt in a vague kind of way that somewhere in the *Iliad* there is a plot; but yet that it is by no means easy to disentangle from the foreign matter which obscures it. At least if we want to find out what the *Iliad* ought to be (and was once but now is *not*), we have only to take the principles clearly enunciated in the *Poetics* and apply them to the poem. No doubt it will be shortened, but Aristotle's instinct told him it was too long! And it will be at the same time reduced to proper epic form—form which is essential to literature, and especially Greek literature. If, indeed, we had no reason for believing that Aristotle's Homeric text was substantially the same as our own, and if we merely considered his criticism in itself, we might be tempted to surmise that it refers not to the *Iliad* as we have it, but to the poem about Achilles, and to the *Odyssey*, which is of course a poem about Odysseus. We do not of course mean to imply that for a drama or epic to deal with a single hero is sufficient to satisfy Aristotle's standard of unity. He requires more, namely, unity of action—but it is clear that when the hero completely disappears from our view, all dramatic or quasi-dramatic unity ceases for the time.

Having set forth some of the most obvious grounds for accepting what we call the 'Evolution' theory of the *Iliad*, the question at once arises,

**Limits of the
Primitive Poem.**

can we discern, with any approach to confidence, the limits of the primitive poem, which we may term the *Achilleid*? Here we come to the difficult part of the subject. If, indeed, we had only to apply the criterion of *The Plot*, the matter would be simple enough. Supposing, for convenience, that we keep to the division into books, the books which treat of or bear closely upon the story of Achilles should be regarded as primitive, the rest as late. But unfortunately a disturbing element comes in. Once grant that additions to the original poem were made by later bards, there is no evident necessity that such additions should be all extraneous to the plot.

It is only too probable that the plot would be encroached upon by those who added to the poem—and this is precisely what we claim to have been the case. Considerations about style and language have led the majority of critics to decide, for instance, that the last two books of the *Iliad* are not by the earliest hand, and yet they treat of the funeral of Patroclus, Achilles' friend, and tell us how the latter yielded up the body of Hector to Priam, thus giving a very fitting and glorious sequel to the primitive story. Even without descending to matters of detail, we cannot deny that there is, and perhaps always will be, a border line where sound criticism will guard itself against dogmatic assertion. In fact it would be an exaggeration to say that at the present time all controversy has ceased as to relatively important points in the Homeric question. All that is maintained here is that we have now clear light on many critical matters, and that our principles of criticism will not lead us astray provided we do not press them unduly.

In discussing the limits of the *Achilleid*, it will be convenient to treat as far as possible of whole books, though these give only a rough method of dissection: and the most we can do to make the matter clear to the beginner is first to state what books are widely recognised as belonging more or less to the primitive poem, and then to indicate those which are, for various reasons, more doubtful. To the first category belong Book I. (giving the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; and the prayer of Thetis to Zeus for vengeance), Book XI. (the defeat of the Greeks; and the request to Achilles to send Patroclus), Books XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI., XXII. (the arming of Patroclus; his death at the hands of Hector; the rescue of his body; the bringing of the news to Achilles; the reconciliation of the latter with his chief; his exploits in the battle-field; and the vengeance he takes upon Hector).¹

¹ Not, of course, to the exclusion of short passages; which may sometimes be viewed as interpolations (perhaps of very late date), as the making of new armour for Achilles, Book xviii.

But what of all the rest ? We have already said the last two books, which form a noble sequel to the poem, are in all probability later work, and (we will now add) later even than some of the books which do not touch the story of Achilles at all. To the period of Books XXIII. and XXIV. probably belong also Book IX. (*the Embassy, or the sending of Odysseus by Agamemnon to Achilles to offer reparation*). This is also a magnificent interlude, but not primitive. Some critics have held, however, that Book VIII. (the Book preceding the Embassy, and describing the discomfiture of the Greeks by the action of Zeus) is primitive and should come immediately after Book I. (in which Zeus promises Thetis to intervene).

Again the four books between XI. and XVI. (including the Battle about the Ships, and much of the divine action of the *Iliad*) are supposed by some to contain elements of the original poem more or less inextricably interwoven with later work.

It will be observed that in the earlier half of the *Iliad* there are a large number of books hitherto unmentioned — especially a long sequence immediately after the opening, namely, Books II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII.

**The greater
Expansions.**

This is a considerable portion of the *Iliad* which has no direct connection with the chief hero of the poem, and, as it stands, interferes more than anything else with the appearance of substantial unity. This series of books, dealing mostly with scenes of carnage and with the prowess of various Greek and Trojan chieftains, yet contains in Book VI. the touching and celebrated scene of the parting of Hector from Andromache. The general character of the poetry is such as might have been strung together from separate lays, and no doubt Wolf's theory was largely based upon the consideration of this portion of the *Iliad*. On the other hand, parts to this long expansion may be accounted among the noblest of Homeric poetry ; so that this is a good place to insist emphatically on the important principle that when we distinguish between earlier and later work we do not necessarily imply that the latter is inferior. There

are, no doubt, different degrees of lateness, as will be gradually made clear to the student, but although we believe the primitive *Achilleid* to have been of sovereign excellence, the theory we are expounding by no means denies—nay, it maintains—that at least a great deal of the later work, and notably of the long sequence following the first book, is of fine and truly Homeric workmanship, though not of the earliest period.

Along with this sequence, we may consider that which was above indicated as doubtful, namely, the books which came after XI. and before XVI., and which contain primitive elements, though they are not necessary to the development of the main thread of the story.

In point of language and style these expansions are not absolutely disconnected with what we regard as certainly primitive. They must have been the first additions made to the *Achilleid* (perhaps, as we have already hinted, in part from separate lays which had an independent origin). Indeed so closely do they resemble the work of the primitive bard of the *Achilleid*, that the question has been raised, whether these greater expansions ought not to be attributed to the original bard as a sort of after-thought. Such a hypothesis is, however, as incapable of proof as it is perhaps of refutation. The chief ground for maintaining it, as it seems, is the dislike to attribute to more than a single author the choicest parts of Homer, a principle which could not be carried out consistently, even if it did not rest upon a quite gratuitous assumption. For, it has been already stated that Books VIII., IX., XXIII., and XXIV., which can be shown to be considerably later even than the longer sequences, and which are in fact excluded from the hypothesis in question, also contain some fine and in every sense Homeric work.

The only book we have not considered is Book X. It recounts the exploits of Odysseus and Diomedes, and is in every way disconnected in subject treatment and language from the rest of the poem. Mr. Leaf

¹ *Iliad*, vol. i., p. 324.

TABULAR SCHEME OF BOOKS

TO ILLUSTRATE THE EVOLUTION OF THE ILIAD ACCORD-
ING TO WIDELY ACCEPTED THEORY.

*Book I	A. Achilleid.
Book II	B. early expansion (<i>exc. Catalogue, very late</i>).
Book III	Γ. early expansion.
Book IV	Δ. early expansion.
Book V	E. early expansion.
Book VI	Z. early expansion.
Book VII	H. early expansion.
Book VIII	Θ. LATE (ODYSSEAN).
*Book IX	I. LATE (ODYSSEAN).
Book X	K. <i>very late (barely Homeric)</i> .
*Book XI	Λ. Achilleid.
Book XII	M. doubtfully Achilleid.
Book XIII	N. doubtfully Achilleid.
Book XIV	Ξ. doubtfully Achilleid.
Book XV	O. doubtfully Achilleid.
*Book XVI	Π. Achilleid.
Book XVII	P. Achilleid.
*Book XVIII	Σ. Achilleid (<i>with important exceptions</i>).
*Book XIX	T. Achilleid.
*Book XX	Υ. Achilleid.
*Book XXI	Φ. Achilleid.
*Book XXII	X. Achilleid.
*Book XXIII	Ψ. LATE (ODYSSEAN).
*Book XXIV	Ω. LATE (ODYSSEAN).

The * is attached to all the Books, whether primitive or late, which belong to the 'Story of Achilles.' The fact that the supposed '*Achilleid*' does not exactly tally with the Books containing the 'Story of Achilles' might appear a drawback to the theory as outlined above, but this comparatively slight discrepancy should, perhaps, be rather considered as a confirmation of its truth.

says of it, "the attentive student can hardly fail to perceive that he has passed in this book into an entirely different atmosphere of thought and language," and points out that even the ancient critics, though they believed that Homer was the author of it, yet recognised that it was a mere excrescence upon the *Iliad*, forming no part of its proper design.

Lesser Interpolations.

This book, therefore, is certainly much later than the greater expansions. The same may be said, for many reasons, of the Catalogue (the latter part of Book II., which is remarkable as having a separate invocation of the muse), and of other lesser passages. The description of the forging of Achilles' armour is in all probability a late interpolation, among other reasons, because it seems to pre-suppose a somewhat late development of the arts of working metal.¹ It would be beyond our scope to deal here with such interpolations, except to repeat that, as a rule, they may be supposed to be later than the greater expansions. We may, however, note in passing that the advocates of unity of authorship are the last to deny the existence of late and comparatively large interpolations, for they have recourse to them when pressed with difficulties as to the substantial unity of the *Iliad*. But though lesser interpolations undoubtedly exist, they will not explain all the facts of the Homeric poems.

In the second Section of this Chapter we enumerated many of the features which distinguish later from earlier portions of the Homeric poems.

Some distinguishing features of later work. Such instances as we gave of lateness, whether in point of mythology, language or civilisation, were taken in great measure from the *Odyssey*. It would be possible now, but rather wearisome, to go over the same ground again, applying the criteria in question to the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad*.

¹ This argument, however, should not be pressed. The subject will recur in later chapters when we are dealing with Homeric Archæology.

Monro shows¹ abundantly that at least in regard to Books IX., X., XXIII., and XXIV., the test of syntax would confirm our statement as to their later origin than the books of the *Achilleid*.

Refraining, therefore, from further repetition of previous statements, we may pass on to new aspects of the later parts of our *Iliad*. It has been noticed that there are differences in the drawing of the same characters by the earlier and later bards. In the *Achilleid* they are, as a rule, fiercer and more elemental : in the later work these characteristics are softened.

This is true of Agamemnon : in the primitive books he is the rival and tyrant of Achilles, and is depicted generally in an unfavourable light ; in the later ones much more favourably, and it is said of him that he is ' a good king and a brave warrior.' The divergence in the case of Hector is still more remarkable. In truth he has a dual character in Homer, which makes it difficult to get a clear and consistent mental picture of his real position and worth. At times we think of him as the blustering braggart, harsh and domineering even in his patriotism. And this we must admit is the conception of his original creator, and it has passed into our ordinary vocabulary in the phrases ' hectoring,' ' to hector.' Yet we have him also pictured as the generous and modest champion of a failing cause, the loving husband and father, the dutiful son—in a word, the grand hero of the Trojans, and a not unworthy counterpart of his still greater vanquisher. This is one of the inconsistencies which our theory amply explains, for analysis tells us that the nobler features of Hector were bestowed on him by the later bards who wished to create a sympathy for the Trojans, and so add a new and different pathos to the story of their fight for existence.

But it is in the delineation of Helen that the contrast is, perhaps, the most interesting. Of her, Mr. Gladstone has remarked that " she is not the type of a depraved

¹ See Index to *Homeric Grammar*, under ' Characteristics of particular Books,' p. 339.

character. . . . She is spoken of in the poem generally, by all persons, without disrespect. . . . With 'beauty such as woman never wore,' and with the infirmity of purpose which chequered her career, she unites not only grace and kindliness, but a deep humility, and a peculiar self-condemnation, which come nearer to the grace of Christian repentance than anything, in my opinion, that has come down to us with the ancient learning." But this enthusiastic admirer of everything Homeric omitted to notice in what cantos the praises of Helen occurs. In the *ACHILLEAN* books, there is scant attention and less sympathy bestowed upon her. While in the later books, epithets are heaped on one another, as if it is nigh impossible to honour her too highly. The most remarkable is that of Ἀργεῖη "the Argive lady," a term applied to none else, except to Hera, the queen of heaven herself. And what are the occurrences of this honourable title? There are twelve of them *in all*, and they show a very unequal distribution, for they occur only in the non-Achillean books, or in the *Odyssey*, with which their authorship is closely associated. But this is not all. If we add other epithets, as 'divine among women,' 'daughter of Jove,' 'the lovely-cheeked,' and the 'white-armed,' we get a still more demonstrative result, for now we have no less than forty-one occurrences, and all in the same portions of the poems.¹

And what is most remarkable of all is that even in the character of Achilles himself, we can detect in the work of the later bards a certain modification in the way of refinement, while at the same time he loses something of his predominance.

We must here give the actual words of Sir W. Geddes: "Achilles is in the *Achilleid* the 'most tremendous of all men,' πάντων ἐγκαλλότατ ἀνδρῶν with no touch of ἥθος or feeling for aught beyond himself and his own honour, and apart from his intense love for his second self, Patroclus. This tremendous being who is an object of terror in the *Achillean* books, comes to be, in the *Ulyssean* books, softened and humanized, and made an

¹ See Geddes, *Problem of Homeric Poems*, p. 108 ff.

object of admiring, though not perhaps loving, interest. The touches thus added do not alter the original lines yet subdue their harshness, so that we can gaze on the picture with no feeling of repulsion." Our critic goes on to refer to his humanity towards enemies,¹ his singing and accompanying himself on the harp,² his conduct as president of the games, in the penultimate, and his reception of Priam, in the last book of the expanded poem.³

Hitherto we have sought to prove the contrast which exists between the later work of the *Iliad*, and the **Odyssean** primitive poem about Achilles. Now **affinities** we are to compare that later work with **of later work.** the later Homeric poem, the *Odyssey*. The question of linguistic affinity has already been touched upon more than once; but here we are dealing with a deeper affinity, that of tone and spirit, as manifested in the treatment of character.

We have seen that in the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad*, Achilles either does not appear at all, as is the case in Books II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., or else he appears, with a somewhat softened character, as in Books IX., XXIII., XXIV. But what is even more significant is that in this part of the *Iliad* there is a tendency to supplant Achilles as the chief hero, by putting in his place the hero of the *Odyssey*. In point of fact Odysseus becomes a rival, and more than a rival, of Achilles. The indications of this are very varied, and we can only glance at a few of them. There are certain epithets which are given only to Odysseus, and they occur only in the non-Achillean books. But the most important epithet is the term *θεός* or 'divine,' which is bestowed only on Achilles and on Odysseus.⁴ The distribution of the epithet *θεός* stands mathematically as follows. In the case of Achilles we find

¹ *Il.* vi. 407.

² *Il.* ix. 186.

³ *Problem of Homeric Poems*, p. 101.

⁴ The epithet *θεός*, which is sometimes translated "divine," though it properly means "bright," is, on the contrary, of common application.

four occurrences, all of which are in the *Achilleid*, whereas in the case of Odysseus there are *twenty* in the *Odyssey*, and *four* in the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad*.¹ Another epithet used strikingly is *πολιτορφος*; and the use of *τλήμων*, with *θυμὸς* or corresponding word, is instructive.² But it is not only in the case of epithets that the prominence of Odysseus in the non-Achillean parts of Homer is so strongly marked. In the descriptions he gets a very important degree of notice, and some phrases occur of him which are given in the Achillean part only to Agamemnon. One fact also speaks volumes. In the scene in Book III. of the *Iliad*, where Helen points out and describes to Priam and the Trojans the Greek chieftains, who are marshalling their troops under the walls of the beleagured city, out of the seventy lines bestowed on all the heroes of her nation, she devotes no less than thirty-four, or all but half, to the wily Ithacan. If we turn now to the *ACHILLEAN* books, we find quite a contrast. For not only is Odysseus represented there as a very much less important (though not, of course, altogether unimportant) personage, but on one or two occasions his conduct appears almost ignoble. He is likened³ to a stag after receiving a wound in battle—the very reproach flung by Achilles at Agamemnon.⁴ On another occasion⁵ his conduct in battle is the reverse of chivalrous.

We cannot here go further into this curious phenomenon, but probably enough has been stated to show that there is a close affinity between the later poem and the later portion of the earlier poem. Sir W. Geddes, to whom we owe the calculations which throw so much light on the point, has justly remarked that the ancient Chorizontes were wrong in their grouping. The modern grouping, which a view of the affinities in the *Iliad* renders imperative, has this special advantage for

¹ There is a doubt about one passage, however, which perhaps belongs to the *Achilleid*. The epithet is also bestowed on the dead, and on heralds on account of their office.

² See Riddell on *Od.* xi. 181.

³ *Il.* xi. 475.

⁴ *Il.* i. 225.

⁵ *Il.* viii. 92-98.

purposes of comparison, that it shows a fissure—not between two poems on very diverse subjects—but, in part, at least, between portions of a poem wherein one subject (that of war) is treated continuously.

Our next Section will reinforce, from another standpoint, these conclusions regarding the stratification of the *Iliad*. For we have now to consider a new class of evidence to prove that the later parts of the *Iliad* have close affinity with the *Odyssey* not merely viewing the criterion of age and of latent sympathies, but also that of local origin. And the more we associate these books of the *Iliad* with the *Odyssey*, the wider becomes the gulf which separates them from the *Achilleid*.

§ 4. Local origin of the Poems

Even before the great controversy was started by Wolf's *Prolegomena*, and among those who still held to the theory of a single author, there has been at all times much discussion as to the locality in which the poems took their rise—or, as it was put in old-fashioned language, as to the birth-place of Homer. Was it in Hellas proper, or in the Greek colonies beyond the Aegean? In other words, Was Homer a European or an Asiatic?

On the one hand, tradition was strong and decisive for the opinion that Homer was an Ionian Greek.

**Asiatic theory
of Homer's
birth-place.**

Several cities no doubt competed for the honour of his nativity, but there was a strong consensus in favour of some one of the cities on the coast of Asia Minor, as we have already stated.

It is, moreover, an undoubted fact that, historically speaking, the poems were first heard of on the Aegean coast, and the oldest traditions asserted that they were brought thence to Hellas by means of Lycurgus, Sparta's legislator. Pindar and Simonides, as well as the oldest historians, confirm the tradition. Not to discuss again the fraternity of bards in the island of Chios, who called themselves Homeridæ on the ground of descent from the poet—in Smyrna there was from time immemorial a veneration for him, which approached the character of a religious cult. Add to this, the dialect of the poems, at least in their present form, is, as we have seen, undoubtedly Ionian. So that Thirlwall, speaking of this question, says:¹ "This is not a case where we have to balance two arguments of a similar kind one against another; but where we have, on the one side, a mass of positive testimony; on the other, some facts, which, through our very imperfect

¹ *History of Greece*, vol. i., p. 276.

knowledge of the poet's life and times, we are unable to account for. When this is so, there can be little doubt which way the principles of sound criticism require us to decide."

And yet the arguments supplied on the other side of the controversy were neither few nor unimportant.

Arguments on the European side. Mr. Gladstone worked at them with great care, being a most uncompromising advocate of the European theory. He even went so far as to say¹ that he could as easily believe that Shake-

speare was a Frenchman as that Homer was an Asiatic Greek. Elsewhere he gave no less than sixteen distinct reasons, drawn from the most various considerations, to prove that the poems must have been made before the Doric conquest of the Peloponnese, and consequently before the Greek settlements in Asia, which were the result of that disturbing event. Some of the sixteen arguments are of a purely negative kind, and so not very convincing: others are rather an attempt to meet the position of adversaries than to establish his own thesis directly: the argument on which he says he personally lays most stress, but which he also says it is difficult to appreciate, seems to us to be very much of the nature of an assumption: yet, on the whole he certainly shows that the position of Thirlwall could hardly be secure, if the discussion were to be limited to the simple issue as he considers it.

But it is not to be so limited. If the single authorship is gone, the single locality may go with it. The poems of Homer do not belong to Europe or to Asia. For they belong to both. The *Achilleid* was composed in Continental Greece before the Ionian migration: this much of the work went with the emigrants as their imperishable heirloom, their national birthright: they did the rest of the work in their new country and under its new influences. We repeat that all the evidence which we are about to allege is not merely good for the proposition in hand, but new evidence for the main

¹ *Homeric Synchronism*, p. 72.

theory of composite authorship. Nay more. It is only by realizing the strength of this part of the case—that is, the solidity of the reasons for attributing the *Achilleid* to Thessaly, and the Odyssean books of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to Ionia—that the reader can fairly estimate the statement we have made that the theory of an *Achilleid* is almost a demonstrated conclusion.

Before considering in detail the proofs that have been discovered in regard to the respective claims of Europe and Asia, we may say something about the intrinsic probability which the theory contains. If early Greek history divides itself into two parts—that before the migration of vast numbers to the sea-board and the islands of Asia Minor, and that subsequent to the same event—if one part of the Homeric poems (that, namely, which we have called the *Achilleid*) has been proved to have been composed at a separate date and under separate influences from the rest of the poems, what more likely than that the part which certainly belongs to an earlier, probably to a much earlier, date should have been composed before the Migration, and the rest afterwards? At least no improbability can be shown to inhere in this supposition. We do not need to appeal to what is dubiously called the scientific imagination to realize the case. And we do not follow Professor Jebb in his suggestion that it may have been the original poet of the *Achilleid*, who migrated along with his poem ready made, and who gave to it its first expansion on Ionian soil. We decline to entertain this suggestion, not because there is in it any absurdity or impossibility, but for other reasons. First, because some real evidence ought to be offered on behalf of such a statement (and we shall offer plenty of evidence for the position we are defending), whereas there is none. Secondly, there is evidence of some sort on the other side. For the discrepancy of style and of thought which exists between the *Achilleid* and the rest of the *Iliad* points to a wider divergence than a single life could bridge over. Even supposing that the primitive man progressed at a much

higher rate of speed than his more cultivated descendant; yet we could hardly allow that within a single generation an amount of development could have taken place like that displayed in the *Odyssey* as compared with the style of the *Achilleid*. It is not easy for us to realize a state of things when so much as the word "just" or "holy" does not exist; but given this state of things, surely it takes time to explicitly evolve such abstract, even though elementary, notions. The primitive expressions for the deepest truths of humanity could not have been constructed in a brief period. Lastly, the suggestion that the poet, after having given a complete expression of himself in a noble poem, should afterwards retouch the work so as to change its lineaments, seems to belong to the ideas of a literary age. It is to little purpose to remind us that Goethe gave a second *redaction* of his masterpiece, and left the seams visible which the later additions had made; the primitive poet was too simple-minded to do anything of the sort. To his mind his work was always complete, because it was simply true. He had made it thus because he could not have made it otherwise. He was himself projected on the screen, and it would never dawn on him that he could alter his own features, or even that the photograph could be taken from a different angle. So that without disputing the opinion of many critics that some of the later books are quite as vivid and as noble as the Achillean ones, especially those that are inserted near the opening of the *Achilleid*; still we must insist that they come from a different source—different in time and different in place—that they belong, indeed, to the same stream of epic poetry, but that they represent a distinct stage of the Hellenic civilisation which that stream traversed and refreshed.

And not merely a distinct stage. They represent also a distinct type. Hellenic culture has its unity, of course, but it has also its distinctions; and in those distinctions, perhaps, lies its secret. Among the soldiers, artists, poets, orators, philosophers, statesmen of Greece, we find not merely men of various gifts, but men of

distinct types of Greek nationality. Now all the types, all the tribes, can be reduced to two principal ones—the Dorian and the Ionian tribes,—the type of Brasidas and Epaminondas, and the type of Pericles and Plato. The Aeolians, who dwelt in Thessaly in the earliest historical era, to whom also belonged the Boeotian tribe, had close affinities with the Dorians, who also had their original *habitat* in the mountains of Northern Greece, from whence they emerged, like the Vandals and Goths of a later date, to overrun and subdue the lowlands of the South, and establish themselves at Sparta, Argos, and Aegina. And the Ionians, who did the greater part of colonizing the islands and the coast-towns of the Aegean, always claimed a close relationship to the Athenians, whom they resembled in many points of character.

The Doric or Æolian character is exactly presented in the austerity, the heroism, the intense passion of Achilles. But what a contrast does Odysseus supply! He, too, is a soldier, and a good one; but it is as the πολύτροπος, the man of many wiles; the πολίπορθος the real Sacker of Ilium;

πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,

‘who saw the cities of many men and learnt their wisdom;’ the man who wandered over the known world and beyond it out of love for a lowly home and a faithful wife; the incarnation of prudence, of self-control, of calm, dispassionate, resourceful intellect; always true to his purpose; battered by fortune but never quite subdued by her; overcoming other men more by the power of speech than by might of arm; truly θεῖος, a reflection of the divinity even in a higher sense than the other to whom the epithet is given—it is by all the nobler qualities of the Greek, and especially of the Attic or Ionian Greeks (who, like the Ithacan, were adventurers by sea), that the character of Odysseus stands out not merely in the *Odyssey*, but to some extent in the *Iliad* also.

We have seen that one of the marks by which we can distinguish the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad* is the

relative prominence given to the hero of the *Odyssey* over the hero of the *Achilleid*. We may now see that this is no accident, as of course it could not have been. Achilles, who, it will be remembered, is the King of Phthiotis, a region of Thessaly,¹ is the hero of the poem which concerns him, because the poem belongs to the country. How should it be otherwise? And of course he represents the ideals of the race who drew his portrait. In like manner Odysseus (and it must be remembered he belongs to part of the *Iliad* as well as to the *Odyssey*) is the creation of the Ionic race, and reflects their capabilities and their achievements. And this is perfectly natural, for early poets have quite enough to do to express the thought that is most akin to their own experiences and their own aspirations; and if it were otherwise Homer would not be quite what it is for us.

These general considerations must now be supplemented by more tangible evidence, without which they would give some sort of probability, but nothing more. They were inserted at this stage in the argument, because we thought they would perhaps add to the reader's interest in the case which is now to be briefly submitted.

And first the arguments for the Thessalian origin of the *Iliad* in its earlier form.

(i.) Of these the most striking and Thessalian origin conclusive was unavoidably touched of '*Achilleid*,' upon in another connection. It is the conception of Olympus, a mountain of Thessaly, as the abode of the gods. We pointed out that the distribution of the term as applied to heaven shows an enormous preponderance of instances in the *Achilleid*; and that while there it represents an individual and well-defined mountain—in the later work, it is still used, but only as a literary survival, that is,

¹ We follow most writers in speaking of Thessaly in connection with Achilles. It is convenient to do so, but it is in reality a misnomer—because the Thessalians did not come into the country till about the time of the Great Migrations, which were certainly after the original composition of the *Achilleid*.

in a highly idealized way, and along with other terms expressing the same meaning. This point must be here illustrated somewhat further as we are basing upon it a new and very important conclusion.

An objection has to be, however, forestalled. There is another mountain of the same name in Asia Minor, almost due west of the Troad; and some authorities have contended that Homer may refer to it. Fortunately we have clear evidence that it is not so. There is the tradition clearly discernible in early Greek mythology connecting Pieria and the Thessalian Olympus with the origins of the Greek hierarchy; but there is even something stronger. In one of the Achillean books of the *Iliad*, Hera journeys¹ to Ida from Olympus, and she goes right across the sea, and touches at two intermediate points, Athos, and the island of Lemnos, which are nearly in a direct line between the European Olympus and Mount Ida. And there are several touches which go to prove that to the poet, or poets, of the *Achilleid*, the mountain was a distinct and perfectly familiar object. It is spoken of as a single peak (only in the *Achilleid*); as snow-capped (though in the *Odyssey* we are distinctly told that neither snow nor rain goes near the Olympian and etherial abode of the gods); as *πολύπτυχος*, with many a fold or dark ravine; and it is used² to supply the beautiful simile of a cloud gathering on its brow to invade the plain below, when Zeus hurls forth the tempest against his victims. Nor is there anything in the non-Achillean parts of Homer at all corresponding to these marks of a personal acquaintance with Olympus.

Another point of less importance, but worth noting, is the consciousness that always remained among the Greeks that Pieria and Olympus were the original source of their poetical inspiration (though they had derived their literature immediately from the Ionians), or as they expressed it, there was the abode of the divine Muses.

¹ *Il.* xiv. 225-285.

² *Il.* xvi. 364-5.



Pl. V.

"SNOW-CAPPED OLYMPUS," from the S.W.

(Drawn by Dodwell in 1825.)

(ii.) Thessaly is the most picturesque and mountainous part of Greece. Now it so happens that in the *Achilleid* we see clearly the traces on the mind of its author of the scenery amid which his home lay. Mountain woodland is its special note, both in simile and phraseology, and in the remarkable oath of Achilles at the opening of the first book. Certain phrases connected with scenery, chiefly woodland, have, by means of tabulation, given the following result: twenty-three instances in the *Achilleid*, none in the *Odyssey* or the *Odyssean* books of the *Iliad*. Another remarkable instance of the same influence is seen in the fact that the older poet gives the midday meal of the wood-cutter, "what time he has tired his arms with felling the tall trees,"¹ as, to him, the most natural way of marking the hour. This is, of course, a note of primitive poetry, as well as of a picturesque and woody locality.

(iii.) We have already mentioned that one of the signs of cleavage between the Achillean books and the rest of Homer is the relative prominence given to the horse as compared to the dog. This is in reality also a strong proof of the Thessalian origin of the *Achilleid*. Thessaly was supposed to have witnessed the origin and training of the horse, and it was always the great equestrian country of Greece, though Argos and Bœotia were also celebrated for their steeds. But a strong hint in confirmation of our thesis is, that the horses of Achilles, called immortal, are distinctly stated to be of Thessalian breed.

Other arguments, chiefly connected with climate and other more subtle considerations, might be added; but we must refer the reader who wishes to prosecute the subject further to the work of Professor Geddes to which we have so frequently referred, where there is also some attention bestowed on certain objections to the Thessalian theory, which, however, are not of a serious nature.

Now we have to discuss the other branch of the

¹ *Il.* xi. 86.

theory, which is quite as important in its own way, namely, the view that both the *Odyssey*, and in its later form the *Iliad*, were elaborated in Asia Minor.

Ionian origin
of Odyssean
portions.

We have drawn attention above to the strong historical or traditional evidence for this view, and we need not insist further on that side of the argument. It is one of the strong points of our position that it harmonizes tradition with the European and truly Greek origin of Homer. Possession is nine-tenths of the law, or as the lawyers express it, "Better is the condition of the possessor," and really it is hard to see how such a consistent and obstinate tradition could have arisen among the cultured Greeks of Europe, unless there were facts behind it. To insist on the tradition of a personal Homer is, of course, quite another matter. One can easily see how naturally the belief in a single author of the poems would gather round their venerated and strange individuality. But why the inhabitants of Hellas should have gratuitously renounced all claim to the immortal poems to which they had given birth, would be indeed an insoluble Homeric problem.

There are, however, some rather clear topographical proofs with which to support the second part of the theory we are expounding. Although we might offer a distinct set of arguments for the non-Achilleian books and for the *Odyssey*, it is hardly now necessary to do so, as we have so abundantly proved, in a former section, the close connection that exists between these two parts of Homer. We shall therefore present the whole body of proof, so far as we have space to present it, under a single group of headings.

(i.) Perhaps the most striking topographical proof is the way in which the Locrians are described¹:—

Λοκρῶν, οἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίας.

The Locrians, who dwelt *beyond* sacred Eubœa. Now to one standing in Ionia, no description could be so

¹ *Il.* ii. 535.

natural: the Locrians do dwell just *beyond*, or behind the island of Eubœa, and to those crossing over from Asia Minor to Greece proper, Eubœa is the most obvious and important locality—indeed it would be better known to the Ionians than any other European country. In the *Odyssey*, moreover, there are proofs that the hearers were specially familiar with it: for Alcinous uses it in much the same way as the Ilian poet, to express a distant place. He says¹ he would have Odysseus conveyed home “even though it were much farther than Eubœa, which place, those of our people who have seen it, declare to be the most remote.” Alcinous is indeed in the far West, in Phæacia, but he is made to speak of an island that is distant from the Asiatics, to show how very far indeed removed from them is his own country.

So strong is the above argument from the second book of the *Iliad*, that Mr. Gladstone was driven to support the view that *πέραν* *Eubœas* does not mean *beyond*, but only *over against* Eubœa. This is, however, most arbitrary and is contrary to the Homeric use, and to the usual interpretation of this particular passage. Liddell and Scott do indeed seem to support Mr. Gladstone's view, by making a clear distinction between *πέρα* and *πέραν*. But even granting that such a distinction did exist in late Attic Greek, we should require very strong evidence indeed to admit that in the dialect, where there is no corresponding form to *πέρα*, the term *πέραν* is not to be taken in its primitive sense of *beyond*. There are indeed two passages where no ingenuity can torture it into any other meaning. One of these is in the same book (l. 626), *πέραν ἁλὸς*, across the sea; the other is in the last book of the *Iliad*.²

(ii.) Another interesting note of locality is the frequent mention of the West wind, *Ζέφυρος*, as a cold, boisterous, and shore-lashing wind. It is even said to bring snow.³ This may not be thought by some a

¹ *Od.* vii. 321.

² l. 752. *πέρνασ' ὅν τιν' ἔλεσκε, πέραν ἁλὸς ἀπρυγέτοιο.*

³ *Od.* xix. 206.

very decisive argument ; but to say the least, it is evident that the west side of Asia Minor would explain such a character of a West wind (or even a North-west wind), much better than the east side of Continental Greece. This is from one point of view a stronger argument than the last, inasmuch as it rests on a rather common mode of speech, and not on one or two isolated phrases.

(iii.) Various similes, and other expressions point to the same conclusion. Again, in the second book of the *Iliad*, comes one of the most striking instances.¹ "The assembly was moved like the big waves of the sea in the *Icarian* deep"—a sea just south of Ionia, and on the same coast line. Now such an expression seems to be an appeal to something well-known by the persons addressed—and therefore an unconscious note of the poet's nationality. The "streams of Cayster" are again mentioned in a similar way ; this time reminding us actually of a river in Ionia.

(iv.) Some mythological arguments are also given by the authorities who treat of this subject. For instance, the term *βούβρωτις*, uncertain as to its meaning, may possibly be connected with the "Erinnys," who was worshipped at Smyrna under the name. But here again we must leave such *Minora* to be dealt with by those who have more space at command.

We consider the evidence we have produced is quite enough to prove our point, and that it gives indications, perhaps small when taken separately, but of great concurrent weight in establishing the existence of two successive Homeric schools of epic, the earlier in Thessaly and the later in Ionia.

In a section of our first chapter entitled "The Homeric Dialect," we discussed the question of an Aeolic element in Homer, the arguments in favour of which were stated to be fairly convincing. The subject is one of extreme difficulty, for the best authorities on linguistic science are by no means agreed on the point,

Question of
Aeolisms in
Homeric
language.

yet it is fair to add that the balance of authority is on the affirmative side not only in Germany, but even in this country; unless the name of Dr. Monro, who perhaps is inclined to err on the side of extreme caution, is allowed to counterbalance nearly all the other names of weight.¹

Fick² has worked out a very elaborate theory based upon the Aeolisms in Homer, maintaining that the earlier portions of the poems originally existed in the Aeolic dialect. If his position is in any degree sound it is quite evident that we should find there a very strong support for the theory of the evolution of the *Iliad*. For this Aeolic theory postulates a pre-Ionic school of poetry to which we are indebted for the earlier Homeric poetry, the later having been elaborated as we maintain in Ionia by Ionic bards.

But let us suppose for a moment that Fick's position as to the presence of Aeolisms in Homer is wholly untenable, and that Sittl and Monro are right in explaining the supposed Aeolic element as mere archaisms which were originally common to all the dialects, the old Ionic as much as the Aeolic. We have stated already that this position is difficult of strict refutation, though it appears to us to be unduly sceptical. But let it be admitted for the sake of the argument, and let us see if we cannot still argue from it though more indirectly. What does it amount to?

This theory appears to imply that the Homeric dialect can be traced back to a period prior to the differentiation of local varieties of the Greek language. Surely this period must be also prior to the Great Migrations; for no one, we presume, will maintain that such differentiation of dialect took place on Asiatic soil, and that the first colonizers of Lesbos for instance were nowise distinct in their speech from those of Chios and

¹ Merry, Leaf, Bayfield, Jebb, Mahaffy, Warr, Sayce, Giles, Seymour, Ridgeway, Bury, G. Murray, F. B. Jevons, are among the English writers who seem to recognise the presence of Aeolisms in Homer.

² For more detailed account of Fick's theory see next chapter, which deals with the question from a historical point of view.

Miletus. This is quite enough. So long as we can be sure on dialectical evidence that there is what we may call a pre-Asiatic element in Homer, and therefore that the poetry in some shape dates back beyond the Migrations, it matters very little whether we call that element Aeolic or pre-Ionic (in the sense of specialised Ionic), or as we prefer to call it for clearness' sake, merely Achæan.

For there is undoubtedly great danger of confusion. Fick, Leaf, Jebb, and many other writers speak of an

**Theory of an
Aeolic School
properly
so-called.**

Aeolic school of bards in a strict sense, meaning a school on Asiatic soil in the northerly district known as *Aeolis* in Hellenic times, a school which existed prior to the Ionian school and was indeed the medium through which the bards of Ionia inherited the old traditions of Thessaly and Argolis, including of course the *Achilleid*. Now this theory is worthy of all consideration; it is most tempting and seems to carry with it a very high degree of probability; but in our opinion it is unwise to complicate matters by assuming that it is equally certain with our simpler proposition, viz., that the epic of Homer was originated in European Greece by Achæan bards, and subsequently elaborated by Ionian ones in their own country.

The fact is the exact relation of the Aeolian Greeks to those of pre-Hellenic times is really obscure. The name *Αἰόλεως* does not occur in Homer;¹ whereas after the Dark age we do not hear of the Achæans (except as dwelling in a definite strip of North Peloponnese); so that it is natural enough to suppose that the Aeolians, who certainly came from the mainland of Greece,² represent Achæan immigrants. To assume, however, as Fick has done that even the two names are identical appears to be unjustifiable and rash;³ and if we honestly

¹ Aeolus however, from whom the later Aeolians claimed descent, is mentioned in Homer (see Leaf on *Il.* vi. 154). The Keeper of the Winds (*Od.* x. 2) is another person of the same name.

² The so-called Aeolic dialect had a close affinity with those of Thessaly and Bœotia. Since Argolis became Doric in Hellenic times we cannot argue from it.

³ Others derive *Αἰόλεως* from the root of *αἶολος* in the sense of 'quick' or 'gleaming' which does not appear unreasonable.

acknowledge the difficulty attaching to the identification, we shall not find our case materially weakened with regard to the transference of the Achæan epic from Europe to Asia, or even with regard to the significance of apparent Aeolisms in Homer. We doubt if there is any *direct* evidence for an Aeolic school of Homeric epic in the narrower sense : but this does not prevent us from holding it to be probable.

Nor does it follow from the view we have advocated that the poems (or parts of them) were taken in hand by an individual bard, and literally translated out of one dialect into another, as though we were to take Chaucer and deliberately translate him into the spoken English dialect of to-day. It is quite sufficient to hold that a process of gradual, perhaps half-unconscious, change went on as the poems were passed on from one bard to another, and from one generation to another. The original author (or rather, we should say, school of authors) very probably migrated from Thessaly to the north coast of Asia Minor, and there probably the work was further elaborated as they handed it down to their sons and grandsons. Later the poems and the art of the Homeric hexameter percolated towards the south as far as the Ionic brethren of the Northern colonists.¹ Here the work was taken up with fresh enthusiasm, and it necessarily followed that when the Ionic bards adopted the practice of reciting and embellishing the poems, they gradually gave to them the cast and the colour of their own dialect. That the bards, when introducing expansions or changes into the poems, sought as far as possible not to modernise them, is proved partly by the fact of the pseudo-archaisms which they introduced, and partly by the fact that they carefully and very skilfully excluded all reference to the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus and to the Migrations which had brought the poems to Asia.

¹ It has been pointed out that Smyrna (to which Homer was said to belong) was the meeting place of Aeolians and Ionians. Its people themselves even went through the Ionizing process, just as the poems are said to have done.

§ 5. Is the *Odyssey* composite?

We have now to consider the question of the unity of the *Odyssey* taken by itself. As a whole it is later than the *Iliad* and very much later than the *Achilleid*, and it has a much better appearance of unity than the longer poem. It may be said to present a steady and continuous development of its plot, which contrasts strongly with the loosely-constructed and at times almost conflicting congeries of events which are included under the name of the *Iliad*. How far may this appearance of unity both as to story and as to treatment be taken as a guarantee of unity of authorship?

Now we are free to confess that if we had the *Odyssey* alone claiming to come from a single source, there would have been but slight reason to suspect it of being in any sense a composite work. Yet the conclusions we have formed about another work which originally claimed unity of authorship with the *Odyssey* does raise in the mind a certain suspicion about this poem; at least we feel disposed to scan it closely before deciding that it is the work of a single artist. For although, as we have stated, the appearance it presents is wholly unlike that of the *Iliad*, and the reasons for doubting the singleness of its authorship are of a far less obvious kind, yet on the other hand the fact that it is distinctly later, that it belongs to a more conscious and imitative literary era, might conceivably account for more artistic and studied effects than could be looked for in the case of a more primitive workmanship.

In point of fact any conclusions we can reach on this subject must be very hypothetical, far more so than has been the case with our previous ones. Even less than in the case of the *Iliad*, is it possible to apply the Wolfian theory to the *Odyssey*, to maintain that it is an artfully compacted cento of disconnected

**Conclusions
as to *Odyssey*
must be uncertain.**

lays. It is possible that there are in the poem as we have it long passages (whole books, for instance, such as the Story of the Cyclops and the Visit to the Dead) which originally existed in a separate state, and were afterwards incorporated into the elaborate epic. But large admissions in this direction could presumably be made by the advocates of substantial or epic unity. For such a view would only involve the supposition that a single epic poet had found certain materials ready to hand of which he could of course avail himself without shame or hesitation.

On the other hand any fatal attack on the simple authorship of the *Odyssey* can only be made on the ground that the *Odyssey* like the *Iliad* is due to a process of Evolution, that is, to the expansion of a shorter and simpler work by those who took pains to preserve the unity, at the expense of the simplicity, of the story. And it is clear that in regard to the work of a somewhat late and artificial literary editor, such a hypothesis is by no means extravagant or even forced ; so that those who would maintain the unity of authorship of the *Odyssey* have a deal more to do than merely to harp on the harmonious appearance of the existing poem. The problem under discussion is not whether the *Odyssey* in its present state exhibits superficial unity (for the thing is quite patent) but whether beneath the surface there is evidence still remaining that this unity is due not to single authorship but to clever accommodation.

The German school of critics, from Nitzsch down to Cauer, Kirchhoff and Fick, have laboured on various grounds to show that the apparent unity of the *Odyssey* is artificial rather than genuine : in England¹ scholars have been and are much divided on the subject. In another chapter the views of Kirchhoff which are the most celebrated will be described somewhat in detail. Here it will suffice to present in a more general way the

¹ Probably the very ingenuity and completeness of the reasons alleged by Kirchhoff and the German School raises a prejudice against them in the minds of many. But we should take care not to reject the wheat along with the chaff.

reasons which make it difficult to believe that the *Odyssey* as we read it proceeded from a single hand. At the same time it will be made abundantly clear to the student that the question is a complicated one and that we hardly possess the data for arriving at quite definite conclusions.

Let us consider the question first on the ground of antecedent probability. So far we claim to have settled two limits¹ of date with more or less exactness—*i.e.*, the middle of the ninth century, B.C., for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in some truly epic form; and the middle of the sixth century, B.C., for the text as we read it. Here is evidently a lacuna, a period of three centuries (roughly speaking), during which the poems were handed down, and in all probability at least during the earlier portion of the period, not by writing so much as by oral transmission.

This was also the period of epic decadence, as evidenced by what we know of the Cyclic poems, the school of Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns. Now taking the above statement as approximately true (and no more is claimed for it) we see at once the antecedent probability that the poems would be affected to some extent. Oral transmission, especially in a productive though decadent period, could not help leaving its mark on Homer. We have already seen that even in the later period of transmission by writing (from the sixth century onwards) when the poems were becoming more stereotyped as they receded farther from the time of their composition, even the vulgate text was inclined to take colour as to dialect and perhaps as to vocabulary from its Athenian association.

And that in the period prior to the sixth century even large modifications could be admitted is almost universally recognised, for the influence of later ideas and notably of Bœotian (or Hesiodic) workmanship in the *Catalogue* of the *Iliad* stands outside of controversy.

¹ In both cases *inferior* limits, for our arguments only proved that no later dates would suffice.

But the case of the *Odyssey* which bears clear evidence of being later (on the whole) than the *Iliad*, is even stronger. The most severe advocates of unity of authorship from the Alexandrian critics to Monro are forced to admit that in addition to the 'Catalogue' in the *Iliad*, the whole of the last book and part of the twenty-third book of the *Odyssey* is late work patched on to the end of the poem (much the same as what we have maintained happened earlier to the *Iliad*). And these conservative critics would not see much difficulty in admitting in the body of the *Odyssey* serious interpolations as, for instance, the 'Lay of Demodocus.'¹

It is true, indeed, that mere interpolations, even serious ones, stand on quite a different footing from a large and general recasting of the poem by a later editor. But what it is necessary to insist upon is this, that if whole books, or substantial portions of books, could be added to or foisted into the poems in the period of decadence, there is not so much difficulty in going further and admitting that our *Odyssey* is a re-mould and an enlargement of a somewhat simpler epic. Moreover, the known existence of *Nostoi* or stories of the Returns of the Achæans from Troy certainly gives strength to the probability that this very elaborate *Nostos* once existed in the form of a shorter and less developed story.

So far we have been stating the probabilities of the *Odyssey* being composite (in spite of an external appearance of unity), apart from the question of positive evidence that it is so. Without committing ourselves here to the details of disintegrating theories, which will always impress minds differently according to their pre-dispositions, we must draw the attention of the student to two alleged important features of the *Odyssey*, the reality of which he will be in a position

**Positive traces
of later
'Redaction.'**

¹ *Od.* viii. 266-366. In spite of what has been alleged to the contrary, this Lay has every appearance of being an interpolation, and its introduction is very abrupt and unexpected.

to judge for himself after acquiring some slight familiarity with the poem.

Anyone who will honestly compare, we do not say the *Iliad*, but the earlier portion of the *Odyssey*, with the later, can scarcely fail to realize something of a difference. The interest towards the end of the story of Odysseus, if kept up at all, is distinctly kept up at a different level. The great length of each of the Homeric poems makes it difficult for readers to feel the full force of this test and to compare the general effect of one large mass of Homer with the rest. Besides it cannot be denied that in the most doubtful portions there is something approaching the truly Homeric quality, and this makes it far easier to compare Homer with other literature than with itself. But one test we can easily make use of, a criterion supplied by Matthew Arnold himself, whose criticism on the genuine Homeric style will be easily admitted as the best. Arnold as a poet had persuaded himself of the unity of authorship not merely of the *Odyssey*, but of *both* poems, so he will not be discredited as a witness partial to the late 'Redaction' theory. Among the qualities, then, which Arnold postulated as vital to the 'grand' style of Homer is that of Rapidity. The poet never lingers; never says a word too much; gives a clear impression often with a few touches, and immediately passes on. Anyone familiar with the elemental work in the story of Achilles, especially in the first book of the *Iliad*, will feel the justness of this criticism. Now apply this to the second half of the *Odyssey*. The fact is that the hero takes only twelve books to go all through the wanderings, exploits and sufferings of the Return, for he reaches Ithaca in the first hundred lines of the thirteenth book; all he has then is to make himself known in his home, to assert his authority—and he takes just twelve books more to do so! All the insults and conversations, and recognitions and other artifices for delaying the end may be cleverly contrived, but taken together become somewhat tedious, and are certainly as far removed from Rapidity of style as anything that could be possibly imagined. All we

can say is, if the *Odyssey* had been seriously affected by the Rhapsodes of the Decadence; if their additions had accumulated in the form of a sedimentary deposit towards the close of the poem—the result that should be anticipated from such a process could not in its main features be very unlike parts of the poem which has been actually transmitted to us.

The second peculiarity of the poem to which the attention of critics has been drawn, and which may quite properly arouse suspicion, is a somewhat frequent duplication (as it seems) of the same incident, with only slight changes of form. When this occurs it might very well seem to be

Duplication of incidents in the *Odyssey*.

due either to imitation or to a clever combination of separate versions which originally existed as alternatives. The most striking instance of such parallelism is found perhaps in the two sojourns of Odysseus in the islands of the two goddesses, Circe and Calypso, both of whom tried to retain him against his will. Though both ladies are represented as goddesses, the circumstances are, it is true, not quite the same. We cannot discuss the minute points involved, but to say the least the coincidence is remarkable. Again, in connection with the rescue of Odysseus from Calypso there are two distinct meetings of the Olympian deities,—another matter which has been largely discussed by the advocates of different theories.

Again in Book VIII., twice Demodocus sings about the Achæans and both times Odysseus is moved to tears and thus begins to reveal his identity. Moreover, here there are, as we have seen above, independent reasons for suspecting interpolation and therefore some degree of accommodation.

Especially towards the end of the poem this class of repetition becomes noticeable. There are double plots of the suitors against the life of Telémachus, both of which end in failure;¹ not to speak of the repeated quarrels between Odysseus and the serving-maids, and

¹ In Book xvi. and again in Book xx.

frequent Recognition-scenes with various persons. Lastly, the so-called ' *Nekuia* ' or ' Visit to the Dead ' in Book XXIV. is almost certainly an imitation of that in Book XI. which is also held on fairly good grounds to be either late or seriously interpolated.

These are some of the general grounds on which the theory of a composite *Odyssey* appears to be not unreasonable. The exact criteria which have been devised by the Germans, particularly Kirchhoff, for distinguishing more clearly the later from the earlier work, are of course open to question.

NOTE ON PLATE VI. (*opposite*).

[We show opposite a photograph of the celebrated Rhodian Pinax in the British Museum, representing the contest between Hector and Menelaus over the dead body of Euphorbus. It is generally assumed (and is indeed stated in a notice placed under the plate in the Museum) that there is a remarkable discrepancy between the scene as pictured here and as described in the text (*Iliad* xvii. 106 ff).

We think the difficulty is more apparent on a superficial than on a closer reading of the passage. For though the poet says that Menelaus did not dare to wait for Hector's onslaught —yet he insists that it was a very deliberate retirement in face of superior strength. Now even granting that the design on the plate would not of itself make the above situation clear (for it shows the heroes as if actually fighting); if we assume that the artist was not merely familiar with the Homeric account, but was also working for others who also knew it, we think it fair to maintain that his rendering of the text is not merely allowable but even meritorious, taking into account the necessary limitations of early vase-painting. How better could the psychological moment of this deliberate retreat be emphasised than by representing the weaker warrior as holding his ground until he actually felt the touch of his enemy's spear? See also p. 158.]



COMBAT BETWEEN HECTOR AND MENELAUS (II. xvii. 106 ff.).

(Rhodian Pinax in British Museum, early 6th century.)

§ 6. What then we mean by 'Homer'

We have still to put a natural and pertinent query :—
What, then, has become of Homer the Bard ? And it
Is no place
left for
'Homer the
Bard' ?
 is important that we should ask this
 question, if only to secure that our ideas
 about it are not confused and confusing.
 We commenced our inquiry with a
 statement regarding the wide and long-

standing tradition concerning a personal Homer, and even if we now see that the tradition cannot be allowed in its full extent yet we have never asserted that it was to be entirely neglected, which would be quite unscientific. Even if we are obliged, however reluctantly to admit that Homer cannot justly claim all that was credited to him before the evidence for the claim was sifted, yet can he not have done something—and if so, what ? Because his empire is to be necessarily curtailed owing to the exigency of modern criticism, does it follow that he is to be entirely dethroned and cast out, as the father of Zeus was dethroned and put out of sight at the advent of the ruthless Olympians (who, by the way, according to Aristotle's statement largely owed their position and power to Homer) ?

This question, we repeat it, deserves our most careful attention, if we would not fall into a very serious fallacy which it seems to us some writers do actually fall into. On the one hand, nothing that we have advanced militates against the idea to which many even enlightened critics cling, that in some stage of what we have called the evolution of the poems—whether it was the beginning, the middle or the end of the true creative epoch (for the period of decadence does not come into the question)—a master mind arose who more perhaps than any other of the long line of bards breathed his soul into the epic, and made it what it is.

To some this will seem a sensible, to others a necessary proposition. But, on the other hand, in whatever form we admit the proposition there is still, to my mind at least (and I know good authorities who agree with the view), an insuperable difficulty in going further and asserting that such a bard, even though supreme, can be justly accounted the Homer of tradition.

What exactly are the results we have so far reached in our inquiry? We saw that no evidence for Homer could be trusted except internal evidence, and the internal evidence appears to show that the poems are wanting in each of the Three Unities which would

**Our position
reviewed.**

be necessary to verify the existence of the Personal Homer who, as it used to be universally supposed, was known to us by tradition. They are wanting in Unity of Time,¹ for their composition extends over more than one age. They are wanting in Unity of Place, for they represent the work of two schools, two countries, two continents. Above all they are wanting (one of them certainly) in the Unity of Subject, which is essential to epic poetry, for the *Iliad* is, and is not, concerned with its own plot and its own hero. In speaking of two schools of Homeric poetry we must however guard against misconception. In a certain sense, as it is perfectly patent, there is but one school of Homeric epic, a school with a very distinct character, a single style, a single metre, a single theme—the gods and heroes of the Trojan epoch. But as we can speak of Plato and Aristotle as representing a single school of philosophic thought, with the same principles expounded in the same terminology—and yet we can draw a very sharp distinction, and even contrast, between the Academic and the Peripatetic spirit—so in like manner within the scope of Homeric epic we can trace similarity and diversity as well. The primitive school of Thessaly and the *Achilleid* is more fresh, more creative, more unconscious; the later school of Ionia, of the *Odyssey*

¹ It is hardly needful to point out we are not here speaking of the three unities in the conventional dramatic sense.

and the Odyssean books of the *Iliad*, has preserved enough of the original impulse and the primitive manner to be truly Homeric¹ (we have no other word), while by making good use of its inheritance and developing itself along its proper lines it has found in a larger field of observation and of experience a new and maturer beauty, so that many good judges of poetry have proclaimed the *Odyssey* to be superior to the *Iliad*! It all depends upon the standpoint. If you look for sentiment, for artistic effect, for more developed style, and for all the qualities of the literary epic, certainly the Ionic school is finer. But if you want elemental passion, the ' Sturm und drang ' of human life just emerging from savagery, and yet loving all that is high and noble, manly and pure—if you would drink of the waters of Greek life at their limpid and unsullied fountain head (which is also the ultimate source, as far as we can trace it, of our complex intellectual life)—if (to express the idea in another way) you are drawn less to the man than to the boy, to the boy whose voice and gesture and every glance of his eye speaketh the man that is in him—then to you the story of Achilles is more, much more, than Odysseus and Nausicaa and Penelope and the Suitors.

Accordingly, if we are still to cling to the idea of a personal Homer in the sense explained, namely, that there must have been a great bard **at some one epoch of Homeric development** far more powerful, more original, and more Homeric than the rest—and that this is the Homer whom we seek, the Homer of history and tradition, the supreme Day-star of European literature—we grant the hypothesis is attractive, but it seems to contain a fallacy. Does this great Homeric Homer represent the early school or the later? Was he a Thessalian or an Ionic Greek?

¹ We have maintained above that part of our 'Homer' is late and belongs to the period of Decadence. This clearly would not come in any sense into the present consideration unless to confuse the issue still further.

Nearly all the great critics from Wolf downwards incline to one side or the other, and thus we might be led into a discussion of a new controversy just when we seem to be escaping from the old one.

But consider whether it would not be useless? If you assume, as you clearly do assume, that there is an element of historic basis in the tradition of Homer, surely in consistency you are bound to admit that he was an Ionic Greek. This is the one point about which the tradition is fairly clear (though we remarked above that it may be reasonably explained, or rather explained away, by the Ionic dialect clothed in which the poems have come down to us). Besides, as far as our theory is concerned, in the later work, especially in the *Odyssey*, there is far *clearer* trace of personal influence evidenced by unity and elaboration than in the more primitive poem which is for us enshrined in a longer and more elaborate one. Hence those who put Homer at the end of the period of Homeric evolution can allege strong arguments and, as a matter of fact, make out a good case for their opinion.

But, then, what becomes on this, which we admit is a plausible hypothesis of the earlier school? Had they no great poet, or at least no commandingly representative one who could put in a claim to the name of Homer? If the creator of Achilles, the founder at least of the *Iliad*, is to be left out of the count; if he is not Homeric, surely the name loses its spell, and it matters very little whether you restrict the name to one particular bard of Ionia or allow that it belongs in varying degrees to several. To my mind, as hinted above, the primitive school is of far higher interest than the later, not merely because it is primitive, but because within its own limitations its work is of a higher order. The first book of the *Iliad* is to me more than any book of the *Odyssey*, nay, than the whole twenty-four of them taken together. But I have no right to press this preference on others. All I need maintain, and have a right to maintain with regard to the early work is this, that it has excellences which are distinctive, and that it made the later work possible and gave

it at least, in a general way, its character. Hence, if you reserve the name Homer to the bard who gave its later form to the Homeric poetry, you are at the same time depriving him of half, and more than half, his glory.

From these reasons. it seems to follow necessarily that for those who accept modern theories in any shape or form, to use the name 'Homer' as

The only sure meaning of the name of 'Homer.' applied to any single person is worse than futile, because it is misleading. 'Homer' in Hellenic times meant simply the author of the poems as they had received them, without any special theory as to the source whence they emanated. It was an accident that the ancients believed, what was never questioned (or only in a very academical sort of way), that Homer was a single person, one and undivided. And it seems to us that it is but right to pay this compliment to tradition that we should not change its whole meaning and spirit while clinging to what becomes on the hypothesis in question the dearest of dead letters.

Let us scrupulously retain the appellation 'Homer' for the author of the poems, as we have received them, regarding it as a mere accident that unlike the ancients we are, perhaps unfortunately, aware that he was not one but many, or at least more than one. It is possible that there was one Bard above all the others of his own or any other age or school. It is possible, and to me seems most probable, that there was one belonging to each of the two schools. But we are not now in a position to prove that he was only two—certainly he was not less than two—and as far as strict evidence will take us there may have been very many Homers.

CHAPTER III

Historical Outlines of the Homeric Controversy

CODEx A, with the *Scholia*, was published in Venice, by Villoison, in the year 1788. This event was one of the most memorable in the annals of Greek scholarship, not least because it led to the *Prolegomena*, which was published in 1795. Even as early as 1783, Wolf had edited both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and in the prefaces had given some slight indication of his sceptical tendencies. Then he had set to work collecting matter bearing on the subject, with infinite labour, when he found his trouble suddenly superseded by Villoison's publication of the Venetian MS. He meditated for seven years on the new information contained in the *Scholia*, and then woke up an unsuspecting world by exploding in it the bomb-shell of his theory. He declared boldly that Homer consists of a collection of lays or short poems composed in a rather disconnected sort of manner, transmitted orally through several ages, and finally recast in their present form by Peisistratus, about the middle of the sixth century, B.C. The argument on which he laid most stress was the impossibility of writing, at least for literary purposes, as early as the reputed date of the first composition of the poems. But Wolf did not altogether deny the existence of a personal Homer. On the contrary, he laid a good deal of stress on the belief that among the authors of the short lays there was one¹ of surpassing genius—to whom, perhaps, the greater number of the lays in their disconnected form are due,¹

**Controversy
started from
Wolf's
Prolegomena.**

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. cxxxv.

while the remainder are due to Homeridæ, bards who were associated with Homer, and who worked under his influence and along the lines he had traced out. But the key-note of Wolf's position was the denial of anything like constructive power or the art of framing an epic poem, in our sense of the word, to the primitive poets. This could only have been the work of a later and more artificial era.

Before estimating this view it will be well to set down one or two remarks concerning it.

And, first of all, we must not suppose that the attempt of Wolf, such as it was, to account for the origin of the poems was wholly original. Certainly Bentley had in great part anticipated his view. Early in the same century, Vico, of Naples, about the same time as Bentley, put forward some views about the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—especially their place of composition—which come surprisingly near the best results of latest criticism; and another Englishman, Robert Wood, who wrote about a generation before Wolf, started the theory about writing which has made Wolf's name so famous. But the great German, if he did not in all respects originate his theory, gave life to it, and brought it vividly before the minds of men; and so became to all practical intent the father of Homeric criticism.

Another point which has been overlooked, and which is greatly to the credit of Wolf, is the conservative tendency of his mind. He is so well known as the destroyer of the ancient belief about Homer that it is difficult to realise how he shrank from doing any injury to that honoured name. In fact, his whole mind revolted against the conclusions to which the facts, as they presented themselves to his mind, drove him to assent. He was moved by his feeling for the poetry to ascribe the whole of it to one author as far as possible, but external considerations about Greek history and the nature of poetical art wrung from him his theory in spite of himself. He says¹: "When I plunge into the stream of epic story running on like a clear

¹ *Preface to the Iliad*, p. xxii.

and rapid river, and think how there is in the poems, if one takes a large view of them, a unity of colouring [*unus color*] scarcely anyone could feel more rage and indignation against me than I feel against myself."

Wolf refrained from applying this his theory to a complete dismemberment of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,

**The Wolfian
School
in Germany.**

though he had threatened to do so in the *Prolegomena*. In fact he was very cautious in his method, and stated his theory in the most elastic way, so that it could be, and in fact was, developed on different lines by later writers. The actual dismembering was carried out by Lachmann, who gives us no less than eighteen distinct lays in the *Iliad*, perhaps due to as many distinct composers. Others have since tried the same feat, but always with surprisingly different results. Hermann attributed more than even Wolf had done, to the prominent bard, declaring that to Homer is due the original sketch both of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* as we possess them.

It would be wearisome to trace all the modifications which Wolf's views received at the hands of his successors. So we shall merely consider some of the weak points of the whole theory, before tracing the history of the reaction against it.

It will be necessary first to say something on the question of the transmission of the poems. We remarked that the impossibility of transmission, owing to the non-existence of writing (at least literary writing), was a point on which Wolf laid the greatest stress. After he wrote many treatises were published on the subject, which is an obscure one—so many that it would sometimes seem as if the whole question of the authorship of the poems was supposed to hang on this slender thread, which was of course a very exaggerated view. The general result, indeed, of the enquiry seems to be that Wolf was premature in denying the existence of writing among the Greeks earlier than 750 B.C. His argument proceeded too much on our knowledge of inscriptions, as though carving on stone and other sorts of writing must necessarily have gone hand in hand.

But even granting that the poems could not have been written down at the date of their first composition, or even soon afterwards, we are still far from any sound conclusion as to the impossibility of their existence even in a connected form. We have now pretty well made up our minds that we are not in a position to judge of the capacity of the human memory before writing was common. And in fact instances have been recorded of feats of memory as extraordinary as would be involved in the oral transmission even of the Homeric poems in their present form.

Wolf's second argument about the recension of Peisistratus need not be discussed here as the question has been already treated. It is enough to remind the reader that it is now generally admitted that if the tyrant did anything it was merely to establish a vulgate text of the poems, by restoring them to their original form and purifying them from corruptions.

Lastly, his argument as to the opposition between nature and art must be condemned as a piece of unauthorised literary dogmatism. Wolf knew little or nothing of the internal arguments which disprove the unity of authorship; he simply laid it down as an *a priori* impossibility in an early age for anything like constructive power to exist. His own age was a time of reaction against all artificiality, when people invented their own ideals of the primitive man, and then proceeded to argue from those ideals. But they forgot that when the poems were cut up the supreme excellence even of the mutilated fragments would still have to be accounted for. The crystal when shattered into smaller crystals has not yet given any clue to the mode of its formation. The fact is we must take the poems as they are, as a certain fact, and then see if they can be made to give any evidence about themselves; but we have no right to formulate abstract rules about possibilities of which we know next to nothing.

We have indicated the weak points in Wolf's position, but it must always be granted that his contributions to Homeric science were immense. He not only drew attention to the subject, and prepared the way

for the work of others, but by his true appreciation of the worth of the poetry ; by his insisting so much on the conditions under which the poems were produced ; and by his masterly exposition of his views, which really contained many valuable elements of truth, he earned a right to be classed among the very greatest of Homeric scholars.

Wilhelm Nitzsch, of the University of Kiel, wrote various essays chiefly between 1830 and 1840. He is

**The reaction
against the
Wolfian School.**

known best as the originator of a reaction against Wolf, whose theory he attacked with a good deal of vehemence and a certain measure of success. In his writings the question is still about the personality of the poet Homer, an aspect of the enquiry which we do not consider to be very fruitful, For we must deal rather with the poems themselves, and see what evidence they give as to the time, place, and mode of their composition, and thus we shall be more likely to make valuable discoveries than by starting from preconceived notions about a person whose supposed name is all that we really have about him.

Nitzsch began by attacking Wolf's position, and especially the argument he had based upon the late introduction of writing. He also made a good point as to the early origin of the poems, in something like their present form, by pointing to the Cyclic poems which belong at least to the earlier half of the eighth century, B.C., and of which he says " we must allow that when they were written the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must have existed as to their general form and compass quite the same as we have them now."¹ For which assertion he gives the reason that the Cyclic poems were evidently designed as supplements or introductions to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

But of course the polemic of Nitzsch, important though it really is, is not his chief claim to a special mention in a short outline of Homeric criticism. He

¹ *De Historia Homeri meletemata*, p. 152.

formulated a view of his own, which we must briefly describe. Wolf, as we saw, put Homer far back at the very beginning of the period of epic poetry. Nitzsch put him at the end of a literary epoch. Homer founded, indeed, a new epoch, of a far higher kind than any that had preceded him, but he was a great and constructive artist in the sense denied vehemently by the Wolfian school. To insist on this is the chief merit of Nitzsch, not because of his views about a personal Homer, but because he rescued criticism from the arbitrary assumptions of the earlier theory. No matter who, or how many were the authors of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—no matter where or when they lived—the poems are great poems, and their composer or composers were great poets in the highest sense of the word. Unless we recognise the facts of the case, and shape our theories accordingly, we cannot make any real progress. And, surely, no fact is more salient than a certain meed of unity of conception and treatment that pervades the poems. There may be, and are, many discrepancies and even sutures here and there; but turn and twist the matter how we may, there is a striking and a superb design manifested throughout the work, blurred, perhaps, but never effaced. It is not the parti-coloured patchwork of many shattered fragments, like the famous rose-window of Lincoln Cathedral, where the broken sunlight combines into a rude and not unpleasing harmony as it passes through the fantastic combination of re-assorted colours. It is rather the perfect picture expressed in the glass, the transparent glory of the saints of old, the masterpiece of handiwork, in which the artist speaks to us through his materials. The tinted sun-ray may soothe the eye, and majestic groups of colour strike us with a sense of beauty; but to be awe-struck at the sight is to feel that there is a design fraught with a deep meaning, and that mere harmony of form and colour is not even the whole design, much less that it is the effect of a chance combination of separate elements.

But to return to Nitzsch. Feeling as he did that the separate-lay theory must be wrong, he attributed con-

structive work to the poet. Homer found a number of short lays by other bards treating of the Trojan war, and himself built out of them a new poem, longer and more complex—in a word, a real epic poem—not, indeed, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* quite in their modern form (more especially the former), but still something very different from the pre-existing materials. The original form of the *Iliad* was a long poem on the Wrath of Achilles; the *Odyssey* may have been from the same poet, who had made it more complete and filled in with details than the other poem. Thus, to make clear the essential distinction between the views of Wolf and Nitzsch, the latter realised that constructive and artistic unity is *essential* to the poems, and is the work of their *chief* author or authors. According to Wolf that unity is something accidental, and, so to speak, imposed on the poems from without. It is hardly necessary to point out that this view, as a corrective to exaggeration, marks a very distinct step in advance towards a sane and satisfactory theory of Homeric authorship. But it was only a step.

After this preparation new ideas arose which, unlike those of the Wolfian school, have found support and even large development in England and among English-speaking peoples. What may be called a constructive method of criticism was warmly and successfully advocated by Grote in his *History of Greece*. The theory of an *Achilleid* enshrined in a longer poem (as the pearl is embedded in the oyster) is often spoken of, and not unjustly, as Grote's theory. Like Nitzsch, he spent a good deal of labour in demolishing the position of the Wolfians. The following passage puts his reasons so clearly that it is worth while quoting it:—

**Constructive
school in
England—
Grote.**

“What evidence is sufficient to negative the supposition that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* is a poem originally and intentionally one? Not simply gaps and contradictions, though they be ever gross and numerous, but *the preponderance of them*; proofs of *undesigned*

coalescence over the other proofs of designed adaptation, scattered throughout the whole poems."¹

Again, after discussing the question of the *Odyssey*, but referring to the *Iliad*, he writes ²:—

“ There is some plausibility in these [the Wolfian] reasonings, so long as the discrepancies are looked upon as the whole of the case. *But they are not the whole of the case* ; for it is not less true that there are large portions of the *Iliad* which present positive and undeniable evidences of coherence as antecedent and consequent, though we are occasionally perplexed by inconsistencies of detail. To deal with these latter is a portion of the duties of the critic. But he is not to treat the *Iliad* as if inconsistency prevailed everywhere throughout its parts ; for coherence of parts—symmetrical antecedence and consequence—is discernible throughout the larger half of the poem. Now, the Wolfian theory *explains the gaps and contradictions* throughout the narrative, but it *explains nothing else*.”

With regard to Grote's positive theory for an *Achilleid*, it will not be necessary to give his arguments, as this would be merely to repeat what has been already explained regarding 'The Evolution of the *Iliad* ;' moreover the *History of Greece* is in the hands of a large number of English readers. Besides, as is natural in a space of over half a century, many of Grote's statements are now somewhat antiquated, and some of the reasons which he advanced for his theory must be considered invalid, even though the theory itself, which on the whole he maintained with great acumen and originality, remains substantially untouched by later criticism. It is, moreover, but fair to record that at least in England Grote's influence was very powerful in breaking down obstinate prejudice. In fact he did for the English-speaking world what Wolf had not succeeded in doing, that is to force it fearlessly to face the real difficulties of the Homeric problem. Grote

¹ *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. (ed. 1869), p. 165. The italics are ours.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

treated of broad issues rather than questions of minute scholarship, just as was best suited for readers who had, as it were, to open their minds and undertake a new branch of study. At the same time the great historian perhaps unduly trusted his own critical faculty in deciding very complex problems, a charge he brings incidentally against the German critics whom he had set himself to refute. In particular he decided that the eighth book of the *Iliad* was primitive, a conclusion ably refuted by Professor Jebb,¹ though he expresses agreement with Grote's contentions in the main. Another point in which Grote was hasty was in assuming the absolute unity of authorship of the *Odyssey*, perhaps because of the contrast presented by the poem to the *Iliad* in regard to the compactness of its plot.

We may now proceed to consider another contribution towards the solution of the Homeric Problem, more important than the one we have been discussing, and by far the most original and convincing piece of work done by the English school. This is a book of Sir W. Geddes, Professor (afterwards Principal) of Aberdeen University, entitled *Problem of the Homeric Poems* (published in 1878). Working under Grote's influence, and following his conclusions implicitly, Professor Geddes set himself to test them by a peculiar method of his own with a view to finding a more scientific basis than was provided by Grote's comparatively superficial treatment.

Taking then the theory of an *Achilleid*—and moreover following Grote's view as to its original limits, Geddes instituted a threefold comparison—that, namely, between the two portions of the *Iliad* thus formed, and the whole of the *Odyssey*. Adopting various tests,

¹ See *Introduction to Homer*, pp. 122-125.

² Sir William Geddes' own view of his relation to Grote is interesting. He says (in his Preface): "I claim to have brought out new confirmations of the soundness of Grote's views, and of the acuteness of his critical divination." He adds, however, that he was led to undertake this rôle by the pure force of the evidence and not at all in accordance with his own early prepossessions.

chiefly consisting of the numerical occurrences of phrases (especially of epithets) and other indications of differences of geographical and other knowledge ; of manners and customs ; of religious views ; of ethical advancement ; of latent sympathies and of local affinities ; he was able to establish conclusions by a striking series of arguments, which even when taken separately carry great weight, though of course in varying degrees, but when considered as cumulative reasoning appear at least to the present writer to be wholly irresistible. In stating our own views in the preceding chapter, we have borrowed so freely from Professor Geddes' work and in many cases have even followed his method so closely that it is unnecessary here to go over the ground again in detail.

The important conclusions arrived at by Geddes' method of enquiry are :—

I. The old Chorizontic line of cleavage between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was hasty and unscientific—the true line of cleavage being between the *Achilleid* on the one hand, and on the other the *Odyssey* and the non-Achillean books of the *Iliad* ; *which are not only demonstrably later than the Achillean, but also Odyssean in tone and sympathy.*

II. The *Achilleid* certainly emanated from Thessaly, and was the work of an early Achæan school prior to the great migrations, owing to which it was taken from Thessaly to Asia Minor.

III. The non-Achillean work (including the *Odyssey*) was composed in Ionia, and the *whole of the poems were given their present shape* by a later school working in Ionia, of course subsequent to the great Migrations.

The above conclusions appear to be fully warranted by the evidence which Geddes tabulated in a Mathematical form, and believing them to be

Part of Geddes' theory not well established.

widely accepted, we have incorporated them in our own attempted (partial) solution of the Problem.

But Geddes had other views relating

to the personality of Homer which seem far from demonstrated. Assuming, as Grote did before him, that the *Odyssey* is wholly the work of a single bard, and having established a striking connection between it and the non-Achilleian books of the *Iliad*, it was not wonderful that he should insist that the bard who composed all this ought to be called Homer. It was perhaps natural or even inevitable that the learned critic should use his method of induction as a means of giving a new lease to what looks like the old traditional theory of Homer, though as we stated above, it must be in reality something very different from it. What concerns us now, however, is that the evidence adduced by Geddes proves nothing whatever as to the personality of Homer—nothing in fact as to the later body of poetry except that it is diverse from the *Achilleid* and that it belongs to the Ionian school. How that school was constituted, what or how many bards it contained may or may not be a suitable subject for speculation; but certainly in the arguments adduced regarding the poetry itself there is nothing to throw any real light on the point, much less to decide it finally.

Mr. Leaf, in his scholarly edition of the *Iliad*, agrees in the main with the views of Grote and Geddes regarding the *Achilleid*, except that he rejects from it Book VIII., as consisting in great part of imitation and repetition and for other reasons. Moreover, in other points he worked out the theory on distinct lines with great detail in his first edition of the *Iliad* (volume ii., 1888). In particular he thought he had discovered a criterion for deciding the primitive parts included in the sequence of Books XII., XIII., XIV., XV.—this being the absence of a walled-in camp for the Grecian ships, such a wall being apparently foisted into the early work by a later bard in a way that causes disturbance and confusion in this part of the poem. Details of this sort are not of a nature to commend themselves to ordinary readers; and indeed Mr. Leaf subsequently felt so doubtful of some of his theories that in his later edition

**Mr. Walter Leaf
and Sir Richard
Jebb.**

(1902) he decided to withdraw portions of his criticism including, very wisely, the Tabular View which he had originally printed, showing no less than eight distinct strata of periods which he had previously believed he could discern in the structure of the *Iliad*. This withdrawal of Leaf in no way weakens his adhesion to the doctrine of the *Achilleid*.

Sir Richard Jebb, in the little book (1887) to which I have so often expressed my indebtedness, agrees with Leaf in the main, and puts the arguments for his views clearly and strongly, though without committing himself to the detailed criticism just mentioned. We have also referred above to Professor Jebb's suggestion that the great sequence of Books II., III., IV., V., VI., VII. of the *Iliad* possibly has been inserted at a later date by the original author of the *Achilleid*; and have characterised the theory as one which contains grave inherent difficulty. However, as he does not insist on it, but rather puts it forward tentatively, it is evidently unnecessary to say anything further about it in the present Chapter.

In 1866 Professor Paley commenced to propound¹ his celebrated and extraordinary theory about the origin of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a theory which met with much attention from scholars—especially in Germany—and which, extravagant as it may appear to many, yet can hardly be said to have been without marked influence on the course of Homeric learning. Paley's view, which is far more revolutionary than that of Wolf, is as follows. Down to the later classical period—after Herodotus and Thucydides and the Tragedians and Aristophanes, that is to the period of Plato, or, say, the beginning of the fourth century, B.C.—there was nothing in existence corresponding to our Homeric poems. What existed was the traditional mass of mythological ballads dealing with the story of Troy, covering a much larger field

**Professor
Paley's
Paradox.**

¹ In the first vol. of his edition of the *Iliad*, and later in various articles from 1875 to 1879.

than our poems, including the so-called cyclic epics, and generically known by the vague and traditional name of 'Homer.' It is to this confused mass of epic that the references in Greek literature to Homer apply, and from this was taken the themes of the Greek poets, and especially the Attic dramatists.

Sometime previous to the end of the fifth century, an unknown and anonymous writer, perhaps Antimachus of Colophon, COMPILED the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* out of the pre-existing mass of material, and by the time Plato wrote these new poems were beginning to supplant the older 'Homer' in general estimation.

This is tantamount to maintaining that our Homer is a very audacious but very successful piece of literary imposture. No doubt such cases have occurred (perhaps hardly on such a gigantic scale), but we are asked to believe that this took place without a murmur, without a question, among a people which has been justly called a nation of critics, a conservative and jealous people in all that touched their own history and traditions, and at the most intensely intellectual period of their national life, or indeed of the life of the world. Surely there should have been some trace of this event, which Mr. Paley certainly would admit was an important event? Plato himself, according to the hypothesis, knew our Homer, frequently quotes him, without a sign of hesitation or doubt that he was the true Homer, which had come down from time immemorial as the precious heirloom of the Hellenic race. This is not a question of a Recension, a new Edition of the text, but of a substantially new literary work; though based upon preexisting un-written ballad songs and those merely a fragment of the great mass of ballad literature which up to the date we are considering had passed under the venerated name of Homer.

Without discussing further the truth of what we think we are fairly entitled to call a Paradox, it must be admitted that the learned Professor not merely showed great ingenuity in propounding it, but that some of his arguments are really not quite easy to

dispose of. And not merely in Germany did he impress his arguments on the minds of scholars, but even within the last few years Professor Sayce of Oxford has declared that as a result of the controversy as to the antiquity of our Homer which he carried on against Dr. Monro, he has finally persuaded himself of the truth of Paley's position.¹

The arguments deduced to prove the Paradox are three-fold, being based on philology, literature, and art. We must consider them briefly.

Paley's arguments.

The argument from philology depends on the presence of late pseudo-archaisms in our text. In this department Paley, whose philology was often very weak and unauthorised, yet did good service to Homeric scholarship by the attention he drew to the subject. The question is very technical, and has been sufficiently dealt with elsewhere.²

The argument from literature is of greater importance. Paley noticed that the tragedians who frequently dealt with the Trojan myths, yet borrowed more from the cyclic poets, than from our Homer, and that there is a general absence of allusion, not merely to the text but even to the special subjects of our poems. And regarding the historians he remarks³: "Whereas the prose writers before Plato, *e.g.*, Herodotus and Thucydides, make only the most scant allusions to our Homeric poems (Herodotus only twice under the name of the *Iliad*), they become quite household words in the writings of Plato; he quotes them continually with the same freedom and familiarity as modern essayists would quote Shakespeare."⁴ Perhaps Mr. Paley exaggerates, not of course with regard to Plato, but with regard to his predecessors. Moreover, the avoidance by the Tragedians of borrowing from Homer is probably due

¹ See Appendix (contributed by Sayce) to Mahaffy's *Greek Classical Literature*, vol. i., part i, p. 256, footnote. See also his edition of Herodotus, i.-iii., p. 157.

² See 'The Homeric Dialect,' § 4 of chap. i.

³ *Iliad*, vol. i., p. xxvi.

⁴ See *Iliad*, vol. i., p. lxii.

to their reverence for him and to the familiarity of their audiences with his work. Plato himself says that Homer (our Homer *ex hypothesi*) was the father and the originator of the Tragedians. Finally, even if we admit the argument (as it stands) to be impressive, yet at best it is a negative one and as such could not bear the strain of so impossible a theory.¹

The argument from art is not so negative, but yet is inconclusive. It is based upon the remarkable correspondence between the life depicted in the poems and that depicted in the vase-paintings of the late Periclean era. This is essentially a topic for experts in archæology to deal with.² Here there is only one remark to make on the point. Mr. Paley thinks that those who disagree with him must "suppose that in defiance of all that we know of the necessary law of progress in civilized communities the military art was for five or four centuries absolutely stationary."

We must remember that in the poems we have side by side various types of military accoutrements described belonging to the different ages of composition. If some of these types correspond more or less generally with later types, we may think it strange, but there is no manifest impossibility. Whereas, when we come to matters of detail (even on Professor Paley's own showing), there are many obscure questions regarding the interpretation of Homeric descriptions of Homeric dress and armour; and it is more than likely in certain cases that the interpreters may have been influenced in their views by vase-paintings which represent things generically similar to some of the types of the poems. This consideration ought to give us caution, and the whole subject appears to be a good instance of the extreme difficulties which surround any attempt to

¹ Another answer to the difficulty is that it would prove too much, namely, that not merely were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* non-existent, but also the materials out of which according to Professor Paley they were compiled.

² He also argues, as we think wrongly, from the Rhodian Pinax, figured above, opposite p. 138. See note on that page.

settle the origin or the date of the poems. But whatever comes out in the end, surely it will not be Professor Paley's Paradox!

Hardly any theory since the time of the *Prolegomena* has created so much interest both in Germany and elsewhere as that of Kirchhoff. Being convinced that the analysis of the *Iliad* into its component parts had been carried out

**Kirchhoff's
work upon
the *Odyssey*.**

on the whole convincingly, Kirchhoff believed that the time had arrived for applying a similar method of criticism to the later and more compact poem. We have already pointed out that there is an undoubted difference between the two cases, and that we believe it is no easy task to disintegrate the *Odyssey*, though portions of the poem contain evidence of late and even decadent work.

However, Kirchhoff's attempt cannot be passed over here lightly—at least the student may expect some outline of his views and of his proposed criteria for distinguishing the purer metal from the alloy.¹

His endeavour, then, being to discover the sutures which separate what is primordial from what is adventitious, two divisions seemed to commend themselves to him as, at least, plausible. One of these would separate the early books of the poem, the part known as the *Telemachy*, from the succeeding books, which deal directly with Odysseus. It is certain that the connection of the *Telemachy* with the rest of the poem is a loose one, and that the poem would lose comparatively little of its surpassing interest if the early books were withdrawn. At the same time, the fact that such interest as they have is wholly subordinated to the hero of the *Odyssey*, fairly disposes of the rash hypothesis that the *Telemachy* ever existed as a separate poem.

The second attempted division is of a more subtle

¹ As the whole *Odyssey* is undoubtedly late (in comparison with most of the *Iliad*) the latest additions to it will naturally betray inferior workmanship, a principle which we studiously warned the reader against assuming in the case of the older poem.

nature. The story of the *Odyssey* is the story of the return of Odysseus from the Trojan war, and of his vengeance on the suitors who had been annoying his wife and wasting his substance. Now the extremely complicated nature of the plot, which is pointed to so triumphantly by the defenders of the single authorship theory, is precisely the circumstance that raises suspicion. The theory we are considering proceeds on the hypothesis that the original poem was a mere *Nostos*, or Return of a Hero, like those which were afterwards embedded in five books of the Cyclic poems, and which seem to have been in vogue even before the *Odyssey* was completed.¹ This *Nostos* contained most of the adventures of the hero down to his landing in Ithaca; and it was enlarged probably at a later date, by what was practically a distinct poem, dealing chiefly with the suitors and the vengeance taken on them by Odysseus. But we have not yet got the poem in its final form. The original *Nostos* with its sequel constituted what is called by Kirchhoff the 'older Redaction' of the *Odyssey*, and this has been put back as much as one hundred and fifty years earlier than the 'second Redaction,' or the present form of the poem, into which also the *Telemachy* has been incorporated.

And what are supposed to be the main characteristics of the later and inferior as contrasted with the earlier? They are chiefly two.

(i.) The prominent part played by the Suitors in the latter half of the poem, and the scenes of unbridled insolence and dissipation in which they figure, are supposed to belong to the interest centred in Telemachus, whose adventures have been prefixed to the poem.

(ii.) Connected with this development of the plot, the disguise of Odysseus as a beggar by the action of Athena, and with it the degradation and insult which

¹ Odysseus, e.g., states that he was asked by Æolos to relate 'Ilium and the ships of the Argives, and the Return of the Achæans,'

Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν.—*Od.* x. 15.

is heaped upon the hero, and which, being recounted at such length, appears to detract not a little from his dignity as the central figure of a great epic poem.

So that a great deal of the latter part of the *Odyssey*, including the scenes with Eumæus, the trial with the bow, and the slaying of the Suitors (not to speak of some scenes—as the final episode of the descent of the Suitors into Hades—which were later additions still) along with the *Telemachy* are to be considered the work of the later bards. In its original form the *Nostos*,—or the Return, would have commenced with the arrival of the Odysseus at the land of the Phæacians; would have been continued by a good part of the long narrative to Alcinous, which now comprises Books IX. to XII.—though not the whole of it; and would have concluded with the arrival at Ithaca by the help of the Phæacians, the conversation with Penelope in Book XIX., and the Recognition scene in Book XXIII.

Another point insisted on is the greater compression and rapidity noticeable in the style of what looks like earlier work; the later artists being inclined to run into expansiveness and greater detail. As a single instance of what is meant:—in the older parts the companions of Odysseus are very lightly touched on; later they become more strongly marked characters, with an important action of their own.¹ We have already discussed the argument based on the frequent repetitions in the story, and we need not give a new illustration of it by repeating all we said in the last Chapter on this subject.

Such, in outline, are the views of our modern critics of the *Odyssey*. We have not done more than briefly expound this opinion, without discussing its claims on our acceptance. We are quite satisfied to quote Professor Jebb's criticism which strikes one as marked by all the sobriety and justness that we should expect from that eminent scholar. He says,² "Even those

¹ For instance, Eurylochus in Book x. This, and some other points, are taken from Mr. George Wilkins' *Growth of the Homeric Poems*, a work which gives a good summary of Kirchhoff's theory.

² *Introduction to Homer*, p. 131 (the italics are mine).

who cannot accept his [Kirchhoff's] theory in detail must (I think) allow that he has proved two general propositions, or *at least has shown them to be in the highest degree probable*. (1.) The *Odyssey* contains distinct strata of poetical material from different sources and periods. (2.) The poem owes its present unity of form to one man; but under this unity of form there are perceptible traces of a process by which different compositions were adapted to each other."

Even so. Kirchhoff can be hardly said to have *demonstrated* his propositions, though he has shown some of them to be *in the highest degree probable*. There is much in the nature of his arguments which makes them if not arbitrary, at least to some extent dependent on our modern standard of taste, and even the peculiar feeling of the individual critic. What we seem to need is something like an application to the *Odyssey* of the mathematical method which Geddes applied so successfully to the *Iliad*. Although we do not admit this theory of the Evolution of the *Odyssey* to be on the same level as that of the evolution of the *Iliad* (which we believe is very widely accepted), we have thought it would be useful for the student to see on the page opposite a tabular view of the books of the *Odyssey* arranged according to Kirchhoff.

Christ, in the edition of the *Iliad* which he published in 1884, expounded a view which has met with considerable attention, and has been popularised in France by Croiset¹ who added to it a further elaboration of his own. These writers and those who follow them approach the subject from a rather different standpoint from Kirchhoff, as they revert to the theory of short lays from which an epic was evolved. They are not, however, opposed to the opinion advocated in this handbook, and characterised as a *via media* between an extreme assertion of unity and an extreme disin-

**Views of Christ
in Germany,
and Croiset in
France.**

¹ In his *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* (1890), vol i., ch. 4.

TABULAR SCHEME OF BOOKS

TO ILLUSTRATE THE ' REDACTIONS ' OF THE ODYSSEY
ACCORDING TO KIRCHHOFF'S HYPOTHESIS.

Book I.	α	Introduction — <i>Telemachy</i> — 2nd Redaction.
Book II.	β	<i>Telemachy</i> —Second Redaction.
Book III.	γ	<i>Telemachy</i> —Second Redaction.
Book IV.	δ	<i>Telemachy</i> —Second Redaction.
Book V.	ϵ	Original Nostos.
Book VI.	ζ	Original Nostos.
Book VII.	η	Original Nostos (<i>with exceptions</i>).
Book VIII.	θ	<i>Late Nostos</i> —Second Redaction.
Book IX.	ι	Original Nostos.
Book X.	κ	<i>Late Nostos</i> —Second Redaction.
Book XI.	λ	Original Nostos (<i>with exceptions</i>)
Book XII.	μ	<i>Late Nostos</i> —Second Redaction.
Book XIII.	ν	Original Nostos to line 184 (<i>then</i> CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION).
Book XIV.	ξ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XV.	\omicron	<i>Telemachy</i> —Second Redaction.
Book XVI.	π	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION (<i>with exceptions</i>).
Book XVII.	ρ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION (<i>with exceptions</i>).
Book XVIII.	σ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XIX.	τ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XX.	υ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XXI.	ϕ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XXII.	χ	CONTINUATION—FIRST REDACTION.
Book XXIII.	ψ	CONTINUATION to line 296—FIRST REDACTION (<i>then Second Redaction</i>).
Book XXIV.	ω	<i>Second Redaction.</i>

N.B.—According to Kirchhoff, the date of the FIRST REDACTION was before 800 B.C.; that of the SECOND REDACTION about 660 B.C. (The date of the ORIGINAL NOSTOS would have been much earlier.)

tegration of the poems. Accepting the doctrine of the English constructive school of Grote and Geddes that the original form of the *Iliad* was a shorter and simpler poem on Achilles, yet they are so far in harmony with the earlier Wolfian doctrine that they maintain that the *Achilleid* was a collection of popular lays with a sort of logical interdependence rather than a thoroughly organic epic poem in the modern sense. Their chief argument is the difficulty that critics find in clearing the *Achilleid* from its later accretions, and if we consider the difficulty of separating earlier from later work in the *Odyssey* (supposing the existence of such) we see at once the plausibility of this argument if applied to the more compact poem. Such speculations, dealing, as it is clear they do, with a secondary and at the same time difficult question need not be further discussed, though they undoubtedly have much interest for the intelligent student of Homer.

In England there has always been a disposition to be sceptical about the science of criticism. In regard to Homeric scholarship this should hardly be attributed to insular prejudice, since we have seen that Englishmen, from Bentley down to the living generation, have been conspicuous for their solid contributions to the solution of the deepest difficulties. In the last generation, however, two great names—those of Gladstone and Matthew Arnold—were ranged on the side of extravagant conservatism. We could not refer in any terms but those of the deepest reverence and gratitude to them both for the influence they undoubtedly exercised for good in making their countrymen enter more fully into the spirit of Homer and worship more intelligently at his shrine. But it must be owned that in their chivalrous loyalty to the poet and their generous refusal to admit the mythological basis of his incarnation, they were led by sentiment more than by sober reasoning. One of them was a poet, and the other not unlike a poet in the warmth of his imaginative faculty, and by such persons dry philology and critical science is very easily

**Recent reaction
in England
against scientific
criticism.**

brushed aside as a mere impertinence. But every day science progresses, and it is strange that even now writers are found who pretend that Homeric questions are to be approached not in the 'scientific,' but in the 'literary' spirit. A more false antithesis could hardly be imagined, unless by science they mean 'science falsely so called.' Still we must admit that recent scholars of note (among them Mr. Andrew Lang, who did good service in his joint translation of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) have adopted this strange and to us unconvincing method of argument.¹ A literary feeling which trusts to itself is of little avail for discussing the Homeric Problem; neither will critics who abjure critical science succeed in putting back the hands of the clock.

We argued, in our last Chapter, from the presence of Æolisms in Homer to the supposition that the poems (or rather parts of them) were originally composed in the Æolic dialect, or at least one akin to that spoken by the

Fick's Æolic Theory.

Achæan Greeks. This theory was propounded in a very elaborate manner by Auguste Fick, and holds a very important place in the Homeric criticism of the past twenty years. Professor Mahaffy, who follows him, though not closely, remarks of him,² "Fick has never left a subject he grasped in the place where he found it; but always carried it with him in his advance." Some of his views, however, have not obtained wide credence in their extremest form.

He believes, in the first place, that he has discovered the law governing the retention of Æolisms in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. They are due to the fact that when the present mainly Ionic text was obtained by a process of translating, or modernising, the original Æolic text, the particular forms in question were left because metrically they did not admit of taking an Ionic substitute. In other words the Ionic part (or the main body of the poems) could be put back into the original Æolic form. Fick has even set himself, and has carried

¹ See *Homer and the Epic* (1893).

² Vol. i., part i., p. 173.

out, the task of recasting the *Odyssey* and part of the *Iliad*¹ in original Æolic form, doing this more, perhaps, as an illustration of his theory than with confidence that he could absolutely recover the original wording of the poems.

Up to this point we have been considering Fick's theory in its larger bearings, and it is evident that while it falls in with the general trend of the Homeric criticism, the particular method adopted in propounding it is much calculated to throw useful light on the origin of the poems from the linguistic side. But Fick has gone much further, and that in two directions.

First of all he maintains that the change from one dialect to another was sudden, the work of a single hand, and that he (Fick himself) is able to give us the name of the translator, and the date at which he did his work, namely, Cynæthus, a rhapsode of Chios, in the year B.C. 540.

Secondly, he holds that his system is sufficiently definite to be used as a criterion for the relative date of portions of the poems. We must give a separate consideration to each of these positions, neither of which are as yet generally accepted.

Fick himself originally did not put forward the part of his theory relating to Cynæthus. What we know about this rhapsode would not prejudice us in his favour. Part of the Hymn to Apollo has been attributed to him; but on the whole he is said to have been a poor sort of epic poet. The theory is built on the very inadequate foundation of a Pindaric scholium, which states that he was the first to recite epic poetry at Syracuse about the year 540.² Most critics are agreed in refusing to believe that the change into Ionic Greek (even supposing arbitrarily that it was the work of a single bard) could have occurred as late as the end of the sixth century, and without leaving any historical trace of the event. Paley's theory has been rejected because of the demand it makes on the stupidity of Plato's contemporaries: Fick's theory must also be

¹ In his editions of 1883 and 1885.

² Fick would date our text by this event: he supposes it a later 'redaction' of the original translation.

rejected for a similar though not quite so cogent a reason. One of the most recent arguments for Cynæthus put forward by Fick is worth stating. He noticed that, after the year 540, Æolisms are met with in the Ionic poets (lyric or elegiac) such as Theognis, whereas in the older Ionic poets such as Archilochus, Anacreon, Tyrtæus, etc., they do not occur, or to a smaller extent. This is a very important fact as bearing on the general question of the Æolic element in Homer; and Fick, perhaps too ingeniously, argues that the difference is due to the Ionic translation. As long as the poems were in a strange dialect, they did not influence the Ionic poets; when they had them in their own, they began to imitate them, and with them the foreign element which they still contained.

This subtlety of Fick is exemplified most strangely in the second part of his theory, which is mentioned above, namely, that he can use it as a criterion of late composition. He finds portions of the poems which do not admit of re-translation into Æolic, and these he believes were originally composed by native bards of Ionia. This might indeed be admitted as a rough criterion for using along with others, but Fick by means of it has presumed to break up the poems into distinct and original parts, and to find in this way passages of a symmetrical length, or symmetrical multiples of numbers, a proceeding in its nature exceedingly arbitrary, and one which is hardly likely to find acceptance with my readers. In spite, however, of what we cannot help considering exaggerations, Fick is undoubtedly to be classed in the highest rank of living scholars who have contributed to place Homeric criticism on a scientific basis, and his name is a fitting one to come at the end of a chapter on a controversy which is as yet far from the end.

If the reader will now revert for a moment to the views about the Homeric question which we advocated as being fairly certain or of wide acceptance—he will see how they borrow something (while they also have to reject something) from most of the great Homeric critics of the nineteenth century.

A final
comparison of
various theories.

We borrow from Wolf and the Wolfians the doctrine that the poems could not possibly have been the work of a single bard : we reject the theory of absolutely disconnected lays with no intrinsic principle of unity, and also nearly all Wolf's arguments.

We borrow from Grote (and Nitzsch) in postulating an earlier form of the *Iliad* dealing with Achilles : we could not accept Grote's treatment of the *Achilleid*, nor quite implicitly his definition of its limits.

We borrow from Gladstone in insisting on the European origin of the *Iliad* (in its original form) : we cannot accept Gladstone's opinion that the poems as we read them are purely a European production.

We borrow from Geddes in connecting the *Odyssey* with the later part of the *Iliad*, in tone, in date, and above all in locality of origin : we refuse to follow him in postulating one single author for all the Odyssean work—still more in giving this author the name of Homer.

We borrow from Sir Richard Jebb in many points of detail : only venturing to question what he does not really insist upon, the identity of the first expander of the *Achilleid* with its originator.

We hardly borrow from Paley : but yet we have to acknowledge a debt to him for his linguistic researches, and especially for his having drawn attention to probable Atticisms in our text.

We acknowledged the truth of Kirchhoff's main contention as to the composite nature of the *Odyssey* : but could not admit as proved all his detailed exposition.

We admit the possibility of Christ's and Croiset's view : without admitting, however, that it demonstrably supersedes that of Grote and Geddes as to the *Achilleid*, or even that it is inconsistent with it.

Finally, the view we advocate is in complete accord with Fick as to the original Æolic (or Achæan) composition of the poems in their earliest form : but it sees a great difficulty in admitting the theory of translation by Cynæthus, nor can it accept the late date to which Fick appears to relegate the poems.

CHAPTER IV

Homeric Life

§ 1. Geography and Commerce

It can hardly be expected that the beginner will feel allured to the study of Homeric Geography and still less of Homeric Ethnology. Yet if **Special importance of this subject.** he would do more than enjoy his Homer as a beautiful dream, if he would enter into it as a reality and get a grip of its essential truth, undoubtedly this subject will repay his best attention. It has its difficulties and complexities no doubt; it has been said "the investigator may feel at times as though he were climbing a hill of sand or wading through a deep morass,"¹ but with perseverance a vantage ground of security will be ultimately reached. Of late years our knowledge of the subject has been enlarged so vastly and so rapidly that the very multiplicity of new details is bewildering to the learner; nor must we ever fail to bear in mind that many of our conclusions are at present only tentative. Yet amid the haze of distance and of our own speculations two great facts will stand forth clear and unmistakable—one that Homer's views of geography are thoroughly consistent and real, the other that the picture he gives us of his surroundings is utterly unlike what we meet at the threshold of the so-called historical period of Greek national life. In some cases we can learn almost as much from his omissions as from his statements, and, indeed, we shall find that the marked discrepancy between Homeric and Hellenic geography, confirmed as it is by various

¹ Professor Percy Gardiner, in an essay entitled "The Troad and Phrygia." See *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 37.

scientific data, is what gives its importance to the former, being a convincing proof both of the historical reliability and of the high antiquity of the poems. Many of those who write on this subject draw a distinction between the geographical knowledge displayed in the Catalogue, in the rest of the *Iliad*, and in the *Odyssey*; and this arrangement no doubt has clear advantages, because it rests on an assumption which we have stated to be valid and even capable of proof, namely, that different portions of the poems belong to different periods and display different stages of knowledge. Indeed arguments for this view have been based on the knowledge of geography displayed in the various portions of Homer, nor should we be disposed to deny that such arguments possess cogency. But to insist on the differences is hardly necessary here, whereas to do so would seem to add a fresh complexity to a subject which ought not to be needlessly made more uninviting than it is at best. After all there is some unity about the picture given in Homer of the world as he conceived it, and it seems to us far more important for the beginner to seize the salient features of the picture and to try to understand them, than to seek for comparatively trifling discrepancies even though they might appear important were it still our business to treat of the time and place of Homer.

Another distinction, also in a sense valid, has been drawn between the inner and the outer geography of Homer, that is between what he really knows and what he more or less imagines. This is however rather a question of degree, as is plain from the fact that some writers make a third division of the geography which is intermediate between the inner and outer. It appears, therefore, more simple to follow such a classification broadly but without drawing any artificial line.

Accordingly we shall commence with what is most clear and definite in Homeric geography, and starting from this point as from a centre we shall gradually enlarge our horizon until we reach the outer limits

**Homeric
Cosmography.**

of the experience and knowledge of the bards; and this is the very manner in which the ancients themselves were accustomed to consider the world when they reflected upon its configuration. That is, they looked out as from a centre towards a distant circumference, and this may explain their idea of the universe. As the horizon appears more or less circular from any vantage-point, they naturally supposed the whole world to be shaped like a disc. Moreover most of their explorations were by water, they found themselves in them always bounded by water—accordingly at the farthest limits they put a band of water which they imagined as a river encircling a plane surface, which river they called the Ocean. In the Homeric age the Mediterranean and its surrounding territories contained on the whole the navigable and the known world; but a certain knowledge of outlets to the Atlantic on the West, and to the Euxine on the East, must have confirmed them in their doctrine of the Ocean, which it was possible for them to conceive vaguely and indifferently both as a wide expanse of water and as a limiting and encircling stream. Here, however, we must guard against confusion between the ideas of the Homeric bards, and further developments of the same ideas made by later mythologists. For instance, Homer speaks of Atlas as holding the pillars which support the firmament¹; but there is no evidence that he conceived of Atlas himself as holding the world on his head and shoulders, nor yet that he connected Atlas with the mountain which later bore his name.

The first question, then, that meets us regards the central district of the Troad, about which to a certain extent the interest of both poems revolves. Scarcely has any of the numerous Homeric controversies been more strenuously waged than the debate concerning the true site of the city of Priam. And

¹ *Il.* i. 534:—
ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακρὰς, αἷ γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.

incidentally the question has been raised as to whether in the *Iliad* there is any real and personal knowledge of the district manifested. Before discussing this latter question, so pertinent to an account of Homeric geography, we must give a brief outline of the conflicting claims of two sites to represent the Troy of the *Iliad*.

The city known in historical times as the New Ilium was placed on a small and rather abrupt eminence called Hissarlik near the angle of the Hellespont, and about three miles from either sea; and there was a general tradition among the ancients that this was also the site of the pre-historic city of Troy or Ilium.

But from Alexandrian times onwards among literary people a different opinion was prevalent. On grounds which appear to us very inadequate, and chiefly perhaps because Hissarlik is not a very commanding position, it was decided to look elsewhere for a site, and by degrees a position near Bunárbashi, on a considerable eminence some



five or six miles further from the sea, towards the South-west, was fixed upon as the most likely spot. Some slight signs of a former, but not necessarily very ancient, fortification were detected on this height; which is in reality a spur running out from Mount Ida, the famous lofty mountain range still further towards the South. Another reason for fixing this as the position of the Homeric city was the dis-

covery of certain springs, including a warm one, which were supposed to agree with the description in the *Iliad*.¹ The springs in question are not, however, two, but many, for they are known as the "forty eyes."

On the whole, the Bunárbashi theory has very little in its favour—whereas the difficulties against it are simply fatal and overwhelming. The whole conception of the war, which was carried on in a plain and near the Achæan ships, with frequent battles surging between the city and the sea, to say nothing of incidents like the pursuit of Hector round the city or the journey of the aged Priam to Achilles' tent, makes it impossible to identify the mountain fortress with the descriptions given in the poem.

As to Hissarlik, since the discoveries made there by Schliemann and Dörpfeld,² at least we know that from the earliest times it has been an important centre, and its position near the Hellespont which gave it the command of the most important trade-route between two continents³ would dispose us to believe that it was perhaps more than once the fighting-ground of rival nationalities.

But does the Homeric description of Troy tally with our modern knowledge of Hissarlik, and does it show that the bards wrote about the district from an acquaintance with it at first hand? First of all we must certainly allow something here, as often elsewhere, for the natural exaggeration of the poet. Hissarlik is to the modern eye a small place, and certainly when it is spoken of as containing a huge palace and three temples on a grand scale, the description must be dis-

¹ *Il.* xxii. 147:—

ἐνθα δὲ πηγαὶ
δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος
ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιπαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὥς εἰ πρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

² See below chap. v., § 2, p. 246.

³ Besides which it was also the key to the sea-route between the Mediterranean and the Euxine (including, of course, the approach to the N.W. viâ the Danube).

counted. Still the dimensions of the walled town are the same as those of Tiryns and almost as large as that of the Acropolis of Athens.

It has not been possible to identify all the features of the Homeric description. With regard to the course of the rivers, it is supposed there have been changes in the lapse of three thousand years, and an attempt has been made to trace the former course of both the Simois and the Scamander in accordance with the poetic account. From the very wealth of self-consistent detail found in the *Iliad*, which is on the whole in accordance with the facts, one can hardly help believing that the poets knew what they were talking about, even though they may have combined or borrowed, as a modern painter might do, certain accidents of scenery. Moreover, there are undesigned coincidences which have struck modern travellers as signs of the eye-witness. Among these is the mention of Samothrace as the watch-tower whence Poseidon viewed the battle. Now Samothrace on the map appears to be hidden away by intervening land. But when you stand upon the plain of Troy, there is Samothrace visible to the eye, for its peak towers above all else and stands out clear against the sky.

By the Hellespontine area is meant not merely the Hellespont itself, but all the Eastern part of Thrace which extends from it in a N.-W. direction towards the Chersonese. This district is evidently familiar at least to the author of the Catalogue; and what is remarkable is that the cities and tribes belonging to this region, and even the Pæonians further back and to the North of Macedonia, are enumerated among the allies of the Trojans, being indeed mentioned immediately after the Trojans themselves and their near neighbours the Dardanians. Now this alliance between European tribes of Thrace and the Phrygians of the Troad points to an affinity between them, and gives support to the theory, for which there is considerable independent evidence, that the Phrygians came from Thrace. That they were not very far removed in

**The Hellespont
and its area.**

blood even from the Achæans is also probable from the general tenor of the *Iliad*.¹

Considering, first, the Asiatic side, we find among the peoples to the South and West of the Troad at the Homeric epoch, most of the names which were prominent later, with, however, a notable exception. This is the Bithynians, who are subsequently found near the North-west corner of Asia Minor. Do they represent a new thrust, a people who arrived too late to take their place in Priam's confederacy?² When we turn to the European side we find that there is a great gap in the Homeric geography. Though Western Thrace is so well described, Macedonia represents a complete blank, but south of this again the geography of the mainland becomes unusually explicit.

This gap in the Homeric record occurs in a remarkable spot, being over against the Troad, and is so important that it can hardly fail of arresting our attention when it has been called to it.³ Mr. J. L. Myres, to whom I am indebted for bringing it under my notice, himself lays much stress upon it. His theory of a Great Diagonal Line splitting the area of Homeric Geography from the direction of the North-west is familiar to the listeners at his annual course of lectures, which when he submits them to a larger audience, as we hope he will do shortly, can hardly fail to meet with due attention.

This North-west gap, then, might be taken to indicate that along some such diagonal line a thrust of Barbarians was exerting pressure, consisting of persons whom the bards either did not know or at least preferred not to recognise. Moreover, such a state of affairs would be no isolated phenomenon, but would represent a tendency more or less constant in history. For instance, the original advance of the Phrygians from Thrace was a similar event, whereas we find later the Dorians, who probably came from the same direction

¹ In Book iii. of the *Iliad* (184 ff.) Priam himself remarks that he had seen nothing like the Achæans except the Phrygians.

² Herod. vii. 75, distinctly states that the Bithynians were immigrants from Europe.

³ See below, chap. v., § 5, p. 282.

of the North-west at the opening of Hellenic history, even settled in Rhodes and Caria, precisely the point they would reach if they had followed the diagonal line.

The bards have evidently a good knowledge of Aegean topography, but yet they seem to attach very

**Homeric view
of Aegean
Geography.**

little importance to the islands. If we consider the relative position of these in the early Hellenic period, and especially that of the Ionian Islands, we cannot help being struck by the contrast. The islands near the Troad are indeed quite familiar, but Delos is mentioned only once, and then in an out-of-the-way¹ manner: the Cyclades not at all: Eubœa is well known, at least is often referred to. The name Ionian occurs once in the *Iliad*,² but probably referring to the Athenians.

On the mainland of Asia Minor the same silence is remarked. No mention of great cities like Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis. Miletus is mentioned, but as a Carian town only (not Ionian). It has been remarked, and it is significant, that in general the knowledge of Asia Minor displayed in the *Iliad* is only slight.

When we turn to the Western mainland of Hellas proper we find there is a wide-spread and detailed knowledge shown, but of a very different geography from the Hellenic. The chief cities are Mycenæ (Argos), Tiryns, Orchomenus:³ Sparta is merely mentioned along with Pharis, Amyclæ, and other towns of Laconia; Corinth is a dependency of Mycenæ. Athens is heard of, though hardly prominent in the early Hellenic period; Eretria is not yet important, though it occurs in the Catalogue among the towns, of Eubœa. Bœotia is very prominent in the Catalogue and a very plausible explanation of this is that it is

¹ Odysseus says he saw a palm-tree there, as though it were a great curiosity, *Od.*, vi. 162. The first Homeric Hymn is addressed to the Delian Apollo.

² In the *Odyssey* not at all (which is most remarkable).

³ In *Iliad*, ix. 381, when Achilles spurns Agamemnon's offer, he says neither the riches of Orchomenus nor of Egyptian Thebes would tempt him to accept them.

(like similar compositions) the work of a Bœotian bard. Neither Delphi nor Olympia is as yet important; on the other hand Dodona is mentioned with great respect more than once, and this is a matter of significance as it bears on the origin of the Achæans.

A somewhat important problem regarding the geography of the Peloponnese is discussed in reference to the journey of Telemachus to Menelaus at Sparta via Pylus.¹ He went by boat to the latter place from whence he drove in a chariot to Sparta.

**The Western
Peloponnese.**

Now the well-known Pylus, which was the theatre of important operations in the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 425), is nearly opposite Sparta, on the map, and it has frequently been taken for granted that the Odyssean bard intended this as the landing-place of Telemachus. But there was another Pylus much farther up the coast, close to the later Olympia, and it has been recently shown in a brilliant work² of a French Professor, M. Victor Bérard, that this northern Pylus is the one really meant. He writes from first-hand experience of the country, having travelled it with his wife whose camera was requisitioned to illustrate the book. The treatment of Pylus (in the opening chapter) is thought, by competent judges, to be the most illuminating portion of the two volumes, which in spite of their length (running into over 1,200 closely printed pages) are quite fascinating.

Bérard shows first that to get from the Southern or Messenian Pylus by land to Sparta, a traveller would have to cross two high ranges of mountains, manifestly an impossibility in a chariot; whereas from the Northern, or Elean, Pylus after a somewhat stiff though short climb at the start, a valley with a gradual ascent along the bed of the Alpheus brings you to high ground, whence there is also a gentle descent along the valley of the Eurotas to Sparta. It is true the whole distance traversed by land is somewhat long; but on

¹ In Book iii. of the *Odyssey*.

² *Les Phéniciens dans l'Odysée* (vol. i, 1902).

the other hand the voyage would be curtailed, and this was the more important point for the primitive mariners in their open boats. It is argued that this must have been the regular trade-route to the North and West from the earliest times. The whole theory is worked out in detail, and compared with the text of the *Odyssey*, in a convincing manner. We cannot



prosecute the subject further; but it throws incidentally a strong side-light on our own enquiry, and teaches us that deep and scientific research may confirm our respect for the Homeric bards by tending to show that when they dipped into geography they sometimes knew what they were talking about.

We now come to another much-debated question, and that is the descriptions in the *Odyssey* of Ithaca

and the adjacent islands. Are they properly described? Can they even be certainly identified? Into this controversy Gladstone, Schliemann, Merry, as well as Völcker, Hercher, and many other scholars have plunged, and indeed it goes back at least as far as Strabo. It may be regarded as somewhat of a test question, for with the exception of the Troad, the region in question is the only one which is described with great detail in Homer. Without pretending to decide the controversy, the following points regarding it may be indicated:—

I. Those who defend the Homeric descriptions of the island point out many congruities while they perhaps slur over difficulties; whereas, those who find fault with the descriptions can hardly deny that there are points of agreement although they insist on apparent discrepancies.

II. Homer mentions four islands: three (Zacynthus, Same, Ithaca) can be recognised without difficulty—there still remains Dulichium, and various attempts have been made (not perfectly satisfactory) to decide its identity. We may mention, however, that Professor Dörpfeld is convinced that the real Ithaca is represented by the later Leucadia, and he has been engaged for some time in excavations with a view of proving his theory.

III. Ithaca is said to be the most Westerly¹ of the group: this is not absolutely correct, but the error can be fairly accounted for in a case where maps were still unknown.

IV. It is said to be “low-lying” (*χθαράλη*)² a more

¹ *πρὸς ζόφον* (*Od.* ix. 22) which *may* mean to the N.-W., but this will not make the phrase much easier. (A great deal has been written on this passage, which has been variously understood).

² This is the great “crux” of the question according to many; but here again Bérard comes to our assistance. He says that as you sail up from a distance the mountains of Same are so conspicuous that relatively to them Ithaca may be called “low-lying,” for its mountains, though considerable, do not come into sight till you get comparatively near.

serious error. On the other hand there are plenty of indications in the Homeric text that it was (as it really is) steep, rugged and mountainous.

V. A rocky islet is said to lie between Ithaca and Same; and this cannot be satisfactorily identified.

VI. In spite of undoubted difficulties, the description is so minute, and is said by eye-witnesses to agree so closely with the real topography of Ithaca, that we cannot reasonably doubt it is, on the whole, based on actual knowledge. But whether this knowledge comes from personal acquaintance or from hearsay may be still considered doubtful.

We may perhaps suppose that either the poet had been there before a long interval of time, and that in some points his memory betrayed him, or else that he had at least heard clear and graphic accounts of the place from several eye-witnesses.¹

The drawing of Dodwell which we reproduce² shows the Modern Port Vathi in the Gulf of Molo on the east side of the island. It is commonly maintained that Odysseus disembarked here and traversed the island by land to reach his home at Port Polis.³

In view of the renewed importance which recent



¹ (See excursus in Riddell, *Odyssey*, and, from the opposite point of view, Shuckhardt, p. 303).

² Plate vii. opposite

³ See also below, chap. v., § 4, p. 280.



PL. VII.

PORT VATHI, ITHACA, from the S.W.

(Drawn by Dodwell in 1825.)

discoveries have conferred on Crete, it is not without interest to consider its relative rank in the Homeric age. It is described at some length in two passages¹ in the *Odyssey*, and is stated in one of these to be populous and to have ninety cities, while in the Catalogue of the *Iliad* more roundly it is called ἐκατόμ-πολις. To its capital Knossus, and to it alone, does Homer apply the epithet μεγάλη, a feature well borne out by Dr. A. J. Evans' excavations. The inhabitants of the island are enumerated at length, as Achæans, Eteocretans, Cydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians. The Eteocretans, or 'genuine Cretans' were of the aboriginal Pelasgian stock, and must have been pushed by the later arrivals towards the East of the Island. Very little is known of their language, for although there are extant three fragmentary inscriptions, they cannot be deciphered. The Cydonians were near the West, for their city became celebrated in after times; they had a good number of Aeginetan colonists among them. As to the Pelasgians, it is not unimportant to note they were stated to exist in Crete, though in what way they differed, if at all, from the Eteocretans is not clear. But the chief point of all is the presence in the Island of the Dorians, along with the Achæans, and apparently as speaking a different tongue.² It is the solitary exception to the absolute silence in Homer of all allusion to the Dorians, and commentators have been driven to various expedients to account for this reference to Dorians in Crete at a time when there is no trace for instance of their presence in the Peloponnese. However in the Catalogue they are equivalently mentioned; as it is said that a contingent came from Rhodes with nine ships under Tlepolemus the Heracleid.³ It is also significant that these are men-

¹ Book iii. 291 and Book xix. 172.

² It is stated by Strabo (quoting Staphylus) that the Dorians were on the East and the Eteocretans on the South of the Island. This seems unlikely.

³ There is, however, much dispute about this passage. The Rhodians of later date were certainly Dorians, but possibly this passage refers to a pre-Dorian colony.

tioned immediately after the Cretans, and that they are said to be *τρίχα κοσμηθέντες*, which may possibly be a misunderstanding of the epithet *τριχάϊκες* (*Iliad* xix. 177).¹ If we suppose, as we must, that there was in Crete an advance body of the great Dorian immigration of later history, it is still strange that they should first appear in so southerly a position. Mr. J. L. Myres, however, suggests to me that they may have come by sea direct, perhaps through accidental causes (for they were never remarkable as navigators). It is a most curious problem.

Before extending our enquiry regarding Homeric geography to more distant lands, we cannot avoid touching upon a difficult and complicated question. What was the position of Phœnician trade during the Homeric period, and to what extent was the civilisation depicted in the poems dependent upon Phœnician influence? Many considerations may be brought to bear on this problem—and there is hardly any question more keenly debated at the present time. The importance, too, of the controversy from an ethnological point of view is at once apparent, if we consider that the Phœnicians were the Semites of the West, and that to discuss the history and the importance of Phœnician activity in early times is to enter upon the question as to the debt which we Aryans owe to a people whom we are naturally inclined to hate. Moreover, the problem in question regards the Phœnicians almost exclusively as engaged in what we now call the carrying trade. So far as we know, they were entirely devoted to this, so much so that they had little time or energy to expend on anything else. Though a powerful and enterprising people they do not appear to have originated the religion, the civilisation or the art which they carried with them in their distant voyages. We long believed indeed that the European alphabet was due to their initiative, but that view

¹ I would rather agree with Monro (*Od.* xii.-xxiv., p. 157) that this means "with waving locks," an epithet very characteristic of early Dorians.

will have to be modified in the light of the most recent discoveries.

But if the Phœnicians were not the originators of new forms on a large scale, their country was well placed for bringing them into contact with what was best and most influential in the East. Besides looking towards the West, they were about equidistant between Chaldæa and Egypt, and perhaps it was first as intermediaries between these two countries that they learnt the art of land travel. It is supposed that at least as early as B.C. 1000, they were in touch with the Arabs, and through them with East India, and even according to some authorities with the gold-mines which have been again discovered in Rhodesia.

Upon their prowess as sea-farers, however, their renown chiefly depended. They had plenty of good timber at their disposal in the Hinterland of Lebanon and early they became adventurous sailors. They are said to have first directed navigation by the pole-star, and Herodotus relates a story of their circum-navigating Africa about 600 B.C.¹ It is their activity in the Mediterranean which concerns us, and the fact that this, generally speaking, extended over a long period, makes it the more difficult to decide what were the limits and the channels of that activity at any special epoch, especially when the epoch in question is not itself very clearly defined.

Perhaps the best plan to follow here will be first briefly to explain some of the conflicting views which have prevailed, or now prevail, regarding Phœnician trade in pre-Homeric and Homeric times; and then to indicate what clear evidence is supplied by the poems themselves regarding this subject.

In the early Victorian era very exaggerated views of Phœnician influence were common. Anything archaic which was not understood was at once attributed to this source, perhaps because very little was really known regarding it. The Greeks themselves were

¹ There is a good reason for believing this story, though Herodotus was himself sceptical. See Grote, vol. iii., p. 284.

credited with hardly any originality; all their art, religion, philosophy and culture was supposed to be borrowed either from the Phœnicians or through them from the East and from Egypt. These extreme views can hardly be held in face of the modern archæological and ethnological learning, but so far as Homeric civilisation is concerned they are still maintained by the great authority of Helbig,¹ and have been defended with great earnestness and ingenuity in the work to which we referred above² by Victor Bérard. The latter argues chiefly from place-names, and especially from what he calls Doublets, *i.e.*, the co-existence in Homer of two names, one Greek and the other Semitic, for the same place.

This school of critics not merely attribute the Homeric civilisation to Phœnicia, but (when they trouble themselves at all about archæology) boldly refer to the same source the remains which are usually styled Mycenæan. They take it for granted that the Achæans were indebted to Phœnicia not merely for the luxuries, but for many of the necessities of life, in particular for purple dye; for weapons and metal ornaments; for linen and papyrus, and various kinds of fabrics; probably for wine and oil; and especially for such eastern products as drugs, perfumes, and spices; and everything in the text which can be tortured to bear an oriental interpretation is freely appealed to in support of the Phœnician theory.

Many of these extreme opinions no longer remain tenable, for a great deal which was formerly believed to be Phœnician can now be proved to have had nothing to do with that race.³ A reaction has accordingly set in, which is strongly voiced by the great French archæologist, M. Solomon Reinach.⁴ The view maintained

¹ *La Question Mycénienne*, 1896. See also a review of the same by Mr. Myres in the *Clas. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 350 ff.

² On p. 177.

³ For the crucial question of the Keftiu in Egypt see below chap. v., § 3, on Mycenæan Chronology, pp. 273-4.

⁴ See *Le Mirage Oriental*, reprinted from the *Revue Archéologique*.

by this more modern school is that the Greeks themselves (see Herodotus i., 1, and *passim*) were inclined to exaggerate the debt they owed to the Phœnicians, and to ante-date by many centuries the period of their great activity in the Mediterranean. In any case during the "dark age" (the 11th and 10th centuries, B.C.) they did good service in keeping the sea-ways open; but in the previous, so-called Mycenæan age, evidence is accumulating which must lead to a complete revision of the older views of their influence on the beginnings of the Greek race. How far this reaction will carry us ultimately we cannot yet know--Dr. W. M. Ramsay thinks that it is already carrying us too far, and fears that later on there will be another reaction in the opposite direction.¹ However this may be, we shall be treading on somewhat firmer ground when we ask, what is the bearing of the Homeric Poems on this great Phœnician question?

The following points regarding the influence of Phœnicia as recorded directly by Homer are worthy of note.

Evidence in the Poems regarding the Phœnicians. 1°. In the first place it is remarkable that there is no mention of Tyre and the Tyrians, and yet this city, which in after times gained such wide renown, is said to have become powerful about the year 1000 B.C., owing to a migration of the people from Sidon, the more ancient capital. It is to this earlier city and to its people and manufactures that we find reference in the poems.² The use of this name might of course be explained as a survival; it is in any case notable.

2°. The imports mentioned as coming from the city of Sidon, are chiefly metal work, as ornaments and trinkets of gold and silver and bronze,³ and the

¹ See a very able review on Bérard's work cited above in the *Clas. Rev.* of April, 1904 (p. 166).

² In one passage the country is called by the name Sidonia, οἱ δ' ἐς Σιδονίην ἐν ναιομένην ἀναβάντες ὥχοντο.—*Od.* xiii., 285.

³ In *Od.* xiv. 425, Sidon is called πολυχαλκος.

brightest and most elaborate products of the loom.¹ Although it is generally believed that the purple dye for which the Phœnicians afterwards became so famous was also a staple article of their trade in Homeric times, there is no direct evidence for this in the poems, the purple being attributed to the Mæonians and Carians only. On the other hand it appears possible that the name Φοίνικες is derived from the word φοίνιξ, which is used even in Homer of this dye.

3°. Where the Phœnicians occur under this name (as distinct from the expression Σιδόνιοι ἄνδρες) they are always spoken of as carriers only, and not as manufacturers. This distinction in the names appears to some to be significant, and certainly ought not to be overlooked. They are represented as Corsairs or pirates rather than as law-abiding merchants, and are spoken of as being treacherous and deceitful. The expressions used² seem to imply that they were too well known as a bane to the Homeric people.

4°. On the other hand the evidence in the poems shows that the Achæans did not depend wholly on the Phœnicians for their knowledge of foreign countries. For although sea-faring is spoken of with a certain dread, yet the Achæans are described as travelling on their own account and trading even with distant countries. Not to speak of Odysseus himself, Menelaus spent eight years wandering about the Eastern Mediterranean, where he even visited Phœnicia itself, and certainly did not come back empty handed.³ We referred above to the journey of Paris to Sidon.

5°. A very interesting question may be considered here regarding the Phæacians. The description of this people⁴ with whom the wanderings of Odysseus

¹ It is also significant that Paris is said to have brought with him from Sidon women skilled at the loom. *Il.* vi. 290.

² See (*Od.* xiv. 288) the expression ἀνὴρ ἀπατήλια εἰδώς, and τρώκτης, ὅς δὲ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἑώργει, (*Od.* xv. 415) and (419) Φοίνικες πολυπαῖταλοι.

³ See *Od.* iii. 301, 302, and iv. 30, 128, 131, 228, and 617.

⁴ In the 6th, 7th, and 8th Books of the *Odyssey*.

terminated is one of the most interesting passages in the poem of which he is the central figure. Some critics think that these people are not merely intended to represent the Phœnicians, but that the very name given them implies it. Without accepting this as certain, we may call it a plausible theory. The Phæacians are strange half-supernatural sea-men, and there is not merely a foreign but even a distinctly Semitic air about them, especially in the prominence given to Arete, wife of Alcinous, who dispenses justice to the people.¹ They are rich, abound in metal-work, are devoted to the gods, especially Poseidon, and they are in their present settlement because they have been driven away from their own home.

From what has been said, it appears to follow that it is by no means safe to assume, when there is question of contact with Egypt or the countries of the East, that all the knowledge of the Homeric people came from their dealings with Phœnician sailors. Still it is significant that there is no mention of Chaldæa or Babylon in the poems, and the knowledge displayed in them of Egypt, Cyprus and the Levant is slight, and such as could no doubt be naturally accounted for by hearsay.

With regard to Egypt, at least it is mentioned fairly familiarly. The Nile (though not its name) is known as a "well-flowing" river of Egypt, and the greatness of its city, Thebes, is mentioned in exaggerated terms, as possessing one hundred gates and 20,000 chariots. Libya is also mentioned; also a tribe of pigmies in the interior of Africa; and it is stated that there are two sets of Aethiopians, *i.e.*, dark-faced men—one towards the East and the other towards the West—presumably of Egypt.

Cyprus is mentioned but not frequently.² We read

¹ The fact that Arete is spoken of as closely related to her husband (it is disputed whether she is sister or only niece) has been thought to imply a reference to Oriental or Egyptian custom.

² *Od.* iv. 83-5.

that its hero Cinyras gave to Agamemnon a valuable cuirass,¹ showing the fame of the island for elaborate metal-work was established. The question of Cyprus looms largely in the Phœnician question. If in the later part of the bronze age (say the second half of the second Millenium B.C.) their colonizing activity had been great, it is in the archæological record of Cyprus above all that we should expect to find evidence of it. But the contrary appears to be the fact.²

At last we come to our concluding, and by no means an unimportant, branch of Homeric geography. The question of the West pretty exclusively

The Western Mediterranean. concerns the main theme of the *Odyssey*, namely, the wanderings of its much-suffering hero. He was driven to the West, no doubt because it was to the early Greeks a land of romance—the Great Unknown. Yet the question arises how much of the wanderings of Odysseus reflect at least in a dim sort of way such knowledge of facts as the Greeks possessed—whether derived through Phœnician traders or in any other way may be treated as of secondary moment—or how far the story was purely the work of the bardic imagination?

Several attempts have been made, one only recently by M. Bérard, to map out the route followed clearly—either according to modern geography, or at least according to a supposed plan³ which though imaginary was yet consistently pictured in the mind of the singer as he told the tale. Others again suppose that there is nothing more intended than to connect with a certain *vraisemblance* a series of marvellous stories, some of which were certainly legendary, for they occur independently in the folk-lore of other Aryan nations.

There does not appear to be any obligation to tie ourselves down in detail to any one of the above theories—there may be elements in truth in different views, all of which possess some plausibility. It is most

¹ *Il.* xi. 19, ff.

² See below, chap. v., § 2, 'The Triumph of the Spade,' p. 252.

³ This was Mr. Gladstone's view, and he expended on it much erudition and ingenious argument. See *Juventus Mundi*.



probable *a priori* that along with much which is imagination there should also be mirrored in the *Odyssey* the recollection or tradition of early—not necessarily, we repeat, Phœnician—voyagers. And this antecedent likelihood is strongly confirmed by the impression of any average reader of the *Odyssey*, who amid all the marvels of the poet's fairy-domain will yet feel an inward conviction that there is some truth at the bottom of it all.

M. Bérard would place Calypso on the very confines of the then known world, in a little islet on the African coast just inside the Pillars of Hercules; others would bring her nearer to Charybdis—which is commonly understood to mean the straits of Messina—from which Odysseus had drifted to the home of the Enchantress. Sicily or its inhabitants are mentioned in both poems, though only cursorily and without any description. With regard to Phæacia (which is, we have said, of importance), there is also considerable unanimity; for it was certainly more remote than Ithaca, and not apparently at great distance from it, since Odysseus passed from one place to the other in a single night; hence the claim of Corcyra to be intended is not an improbable one. Such claims, however, in later times, and they were very numerous and sometimes conflicting, need not necessarily compel assent. To identify the Lotus-eaters vaguely with some tribe on the N.-W. coast of Africa would be very reasonable; and to see in the floating island an iceberg reported by mariners who had been driven north by a gale, and to account for the absence of real night in Læstrygonia on similar principles is hardly to travel beyond the bounds of sane conjecture. Many other theories on this subject could be related, but for fuller information the student will have to consult commentaries on the text of Homer or special treatises on Homeric geography.

§ 2. Religion and Ethics

Greek religion cannot be wholly disconnected from Greek mythology, and yet it is quite proper to distinguish between the two. Religion underlies Mythology, and because it is the fundamental element it is also the permanent. We may say that, speaking generally, mythology deals with speculation, religion with practice. The student of Homer must necessarily give some attention to the Homeric gods, their history, their functions and attributes; but he will do well to seek through them to attain to a knowledge of the faith which their worship presupposed and of the character which it tended to produce in their clients. As starting points in our investigation we may lay down clearly two principles, which must be carefully borne in mind :—

I. The Homeric religion by no means represents a primitive stage in the cult of the unseen. On the contrary, it contains diverse and complicated elements of religion and mythology, and is evidently the result of a long and probably tedious evolution.

II. Even though highly developed in its growth Homeric religion must not be confused or identified with the further stages of myth and of cult which we meet with in later Greek literature.

All through the long history of Greek religion we can trace cults of a special kind, which were certainly primitive. The gods to whom they belong are called *Chthonian*, as distinct from *Olympian*, and these had not merely special titles but also a ritual quite distinct from that of the gods above.

Isocrates states very clearly that the Olympians (as the Romans said, the *Superi*) give good things, whereas the Chthonian deities (or the *Inferi*) have to do with

**Religion and
Mythology.**

**Primitive or
Chthonian cults.**

punishments and calamities, and that their worship consists not so much in honourable sacrifice as in ceremonies of riddance. When victims were offered to them, they were usually black instead of white, and the service was often performed at dead of night amid the most gloomy associations. It is true that in later times, according to one theory, the Dread Goddesses—known to Athens as the Erinyes—changed their character, and according to Æschylus became Eumenides or the Kindly Ones. Sophocles, too, in the *Œdipus Coloneus* depicts the same as deities most propitious and even lovable. But this is only an instance of the extreme changefulness and pliability of Greek cults, especially when coming under the magic sway of the poets. At Athens, especially, there was a strong tendency to cultivate the brighter side of religion. But all religions have necessarily a darker side, and especially the more primitive forms. That of the Greeks was certainly no exception to the law. An element of nature-worship, which was earlier than the Olympian beliefs and rituals, remained side by side with them. We may accept as true the statement of Miss J. E. Harrison,¹ that these forms were much more prominent in the minds of the common folk and in their personal devotions than they were even in the more stately ceremonial of public worship; and that they displayed a marvellous tenacity, appearing (though considerably transformed) in the later mysticism which outlived, in the Periclean era, the decay of Olympianism as a living faith. According to the same theory, which is very ably maintained in the work referred to, even in what we are accustomed to rank as Olympian ceremonies, and which were ranked as such in the festivals of the historical period, there really lurked under a false and later garb clear reminiscences of the more primitive and gloomy ritual of Chthonian worship.

If, then, in the Greek religion of later times we find large traces of primitive beliefs and rituals, we must not be surprised to find in the Homeric age side by

¹ In her *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, 1904, chap. i.

**Traces in Homer
of Primitive
Religion.**

side with fully developed Olympianism (implying, as it does, an advanced and anthropomorphic conception of the divinity) traces of nature cults, worship of the dead, even human sacrifices and other forms of savagery commonly found in connection with primitive forms of religion. We may also look in Homer for reminiscences of beliefs which existed prior to the formation of the Olympian pantheon, in the form of dynastic powers formerly operative but now subdued and superseded; and along with survivals of an early marriage-system we may expect to see reflected in the supernatural economy the early state of society known as matriarchal, in which the mother was paramount in the family, all descent being traced through her rather than through the father.

To discuss such large and complicated matters fully would be clearly beyond our limits; we cannot do more than indicate a few illustrations of the above classes of survivals which occur in the Homeric poems.

1. Nature-cults. The epithet *βοῶπις* as applied to Hera has been thought not improbably to point to a primitive animalism. No doubt it need not necessarily imply more than '*with large, round eyes,*' and possibly the later bards meant no more by the use of the term. Still, considering the importance attached to cow-worship in the Egyptian and Hindoo systems, the phrase is significant.¹ Again, the *Ægis* of Athena and of Zeus, consisting of serpents, which were probably intended to terrify their foes, points to snake-worship (which we know survived till a late period in the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens). So in later art we find associated with many of the Olympian deities emblems which are not easy to account for

¹ Those who agree with Schliemann that *γλαυκῶπις* as applied to Athena means owl-eyed will see in this a confirmation of the above view. The point, however, is doubtful, and I thought it better not to introduce it into the text. However, we must not forget that while the slaughter of the Suitors is being carried out Athene retires to one of the rafters of the roof, where she sits in the form of a swallow.

except on the principal of survival. Besides Athena's snake there is the ram of Hermes, the bear of Artemis, the wolf and mouse of Apollo. The sacred oak of Dodona, with its doves, may very probably point to an early form of religion when animated things were in general regarded as the special haunts of the divinity.¹

2. **Worship of the Dead.** This included, in primitive times, the pouring of blood into their graves as a nutriment for the departed spirits. In the *Odyssey*, Book XI., the sacrifice to the dead gives a clear picture of Chthonian worship. Odysseus is about to visit Hades: he makes a trench, and pours into it the blood of prescribed victims, among which is a *quite black ewe*, and this blood is lapped up by the ghosts before they have strength enough to hold converse with the living.

3. **Human Sacrifice.** It is remarkable that in Homer there is no trace of the sacrifice of Iphigenia by her father Agamemnon—an event which became so celebrated later. On the other hand, in the *Iliad* we find Achilles sacrificing a batch of Trojan captives to placate the soul of Patroclus, his beloved companion and friend. Connected with this we may note the mutilation of the dead, and a certain savagery in the character of Achilles who is, notwithstanding, the highest type of perfect Achæan chivalry.

4. **Earlier Dynasties.** We are told that Zeus had displaced his father Cronos, having bound him in chains after a severe contest, and this is the most striking evidence of the recent triumph of Olympianism over an earlier system. But there are other indications in references to the Titans almost suggesting Prometheus. In the first book of the *Iliad*, it is stated that Zeus was assisted against Poseidon and the other gods of Olympus by Briareus, who "came and sat down by Zeus, so that the blessed gods were afear'd nor did they

¹ Mr. Cook would connect the Double Axe of the Cretan Zeus with the oak-cult. See *Clas. Rev.* vol. xvii., series of articles entitled "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak."

bind their sire." ¹ It is certain that the cult of Poseidon was a comparatively early one among the Ionian Greeks. In Homer he claims a sort of equality with Zeus, and was never, like the other Olympians, affiliated to him. What is also mysterious is a reference to Oceanus as the father of the gods.²

5. **Survivals of a Matriarchal period (?)** We may note that the cults both of Hera and of Demeter were very ancient and probably belonged to the earlier strata of Greek religion. Hera is very prominent in Homer. Demeter less so, but it is remarkable that Persephone, her daughter, is addressed as "daughter of Zeus,"³ which, perhaps, implies that Demeter was his spouse in the under-world. Her very name implies that she is the earth-mother, and even in the *Iliad*,⁴ bread is spoken of as the "bruised corn of Demeter." Again, the great prominence given to Athena in both poems, but more particularly in the *Odyssey*, has been considered a proof of matriarchal influence. For a fuller treatment of this interesting question, the student should consult Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena* already referred to.⁵

The second principle which we premised must be borne in mind regarding Homeric religion is a simpler one. Though containing elements of primitive and Chthonian ritual, that religion, on the whole, represents an advanced stage of Greek anthropomorphic faith which is aptly termed Olympian; but yet it must be carefully distinguished from still later developments and changes which never ceased to be introduced into the beliefs of the highly susceptible and imaginative Greeks.

For instance, Pheidias, in the central tableau of his Parthenon frieze, introduces the seated court of Olympian deities, which he regards as fixed at twelve, and

¹ *Il.* i. 405-6.

² *Il.* xiv, 201 and *cp.* l. 244.

³ *Od.* xi. 217.

⁴ Book xiii. 322.

⁵ There are some references in the *Iliad* to the Amazons, and they perhaps point to the greater importance and power of women in very early times.

perhaps this was the convention at the period.¹ It must be remarked, however, that at Olympia itself, the principal seat of the cultus of Zeus, there were also twelve altars to the chief gods, but these were widely different from those recognised at Athens. Whatever may have been the case as to unity of belief in the Hellenic period, certainly the Homeric pantheon must be considered as something by itself apart. Of Dionysus, who looms so largely in the Athens of Pericles and Sophocles, there is hardly any trace in Homer. The same has already been remarked about Demeter who, with Persephone became so important in later times in regard to the Mysteries. Ares and even Aphrodite are still regarded somewhat as foreigners. Hermes and Thetis are very prominent. There are an enormous number of Mythological personages, some of whom must be regarded as half-developed, perhaps more or less tentative, impersonations of abstract ideas. On the whole the distinction between greater and lesser deities is not so clearly marked in Homer as it became at a later period. The characters, however, of the different gods, heroes, and supernatural powers is most vivid and clear-cut, as indeed is everything which is delineated in the poems.

The three great Olympians in Homer, as also in Greek literature generally, are Zeus, Athena, and Apollo.

**Homer's great
triad of
Divinities.**

Hera, it has been already remarked, is prominent as the queen of heaven, but her importance appears to be more official than personal. She is the spouse of Zeus, and though she is not by any means in constant agreement with him, the rôle she has to play depends almost entirely on her relation to the supreme god. She is in the *Iliad* a sort of dramatic necessity, and neither in character nor in action does she display striking individuality, unless, perhaps, in her faithful

¹ Plato (*Phædr.* 247 A) speaks of the Princely Twelve; but the only divinity he names in addition to Zeus is Hestia, who probably was not represented in the frieze, though there is considerable uncertainty as to the identification of some of the figures.

adherence to the cause of the Achæans. With Athena and Apollo the case is very different. Their action is most vital to the plot of both poems, and their personality is always strongly marked. Besides their importance in the mind of the Homeric bards is felt in this, that their names are used in conjunction in the most solemn asseverations. It is true that oaths were very often taken by the older divinities, "the Sun, the Earth, and Rivers,"¹ the "Sun, the Earth, and the Erinyes,"² or by the "hospitable table and hearth."³ The gods themselves swore by the Styx, or by the Titans. But when the Olympian gods are named for the purpose of solemnity the commonly-recurring formula was pronounced :

αἶ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων.

And what is equally remarkable is that prayer for special blessings in Homer is almost invariably offered to one of these deities, never to the other Olympians, not even to Hera.⁴

The importance of Apollo largely depends on the fact that his association with Zeus, his sire, is of the closest ; for when the ruler of Olympus has determined on a course of action he turns as though instinctively to this among his other sons and daughters for the execution of his will. But Apollo has also a marked policy and will of his own, though he never opposes the will of his sire in the same way as the other Olympians are wont to do. It has been remarked above that Apollo is at enmity with the Achæans, and that his anger is the original mainspring of the plot of the *Iliad*. Though possibly owing his origin to a solar myth, it must be observed that in Homer he is not, as in later mythology, the sun-god proper, who makes a distinct appearance in Homer under the name of Helios. Nor is the character

¹ *Il.* iii. 277-8.

² *Il.* xix. 259.

³ *Od.* xiv. 159.

⁴ Poseidon is, however, an exception, but he is hardly an Olympian in the fullest sense, standing rather apart, and very probably belonging to the older stratum of religion.

of Apollo, as the god of all brightness, purity, and joy, fully developed in the Homeric period, for he deals death with his sharp arrows, and is a god of justice rather than of mercy; however, he is full of dignity and of greatness, and his oracular character is already showing signs of manifestation. It is then little wonder that at a later period the Dorians chose him for their special favourite.

Athena is in many things the female double of Apollo, certainly far more so than his twin-sister Artemis, the moon-goddess. We associate the thought of Athena with her own city and its great festival, when later she became to Athens and all the Ionians what Apollo was to Sparta and the Dorian tribes. But Athena's majesty is also beginning to shine forth even in the *Iliad*, while in the *Odyssey* she stands fully revealed as a wondrous type of female divinity—already, like her sire, a proper subject for the art of Pheidias. She is more than guardian-angel to Odysseus, who is indeed her counterpart rather than a mere client. For he is inspired with her courage and fully possessed by her wisdom, and depends, as does Telemachus also, wholly on her guidance and protection. This theme might repay a fuller treatment, but we must pass on to some consideration of the Homeric presentment of Zeus, the 'father of gods and men.'

The principal interest of the Olympian system centres of course in Zeus. His personality has in it something of grandeur and of littleness, for he is, as Gladstone well remarked, at once the most divine and the most human of all the Homeric gods. In him the strength and the weakness of anthropomorphic

**The Homeric
conception of
Zeus.**

divinity is clearly displayed, a view which will supply a key to all the seeming inequalities in his character. Moreover, the Homeric mind sees in the gods as in human beings chiefly the attribute of power, so that the supremacy of Zeus over his children consists rather in power than in goodness—a conception of divinity which is perhaps the outcome of maturer thought. Zeus then effects on a grandiose scale human nature as it really

exists, with all its passions magnified just as much as its higher qualities and nobler aims. We must not, therefore, judge him harshly nor try him by a standard not his own. And if we make necessary allowances we shall find in Zeus many elements of real grandeur, goodness, and divinity. First, however, it may be well to recall what has been already stated.¹ Zeus was, in his origin, an atmospheric god, the lord of the upper air, the 'Cloud-compeller,' 'Wielder of the thunder-bolt,' 'Rejoicing in the thunder-clap.' It has been maintained² that he was originally the Firmament rather than its god; and we have seen that in the poems themselves it is possible to trace his progress from the elemental to a more spiritual view of his divinity, and to find in this one of the strongest arguments for the gradual evolution of the poems through long periods of time. The very name of Zeus, which is of Indo-European origin, points to his connection with the sky;³ and it would seem as though in his case anthropomorphic development was not so much due to contamination of a foreign element, but was, so to say, inherent and personal to himself. However this may be, at the end of the Homeric period we find him combining a rugged human grandeur with a quite unapproachable splendour of divinity.

The question of the supremacy of Zeus among the Immortals is important because it appears to imply a strong tendency towards monotheistic religion. But at first sight his supremacy is not so evident. The other gods oppose him, Hera entraps him, and he is depicted, especially in the *Iliad*, as involved in the general struggle on which the plot revolves. We must remember, however, that this very struggle is required by the poetical exigencies of the case; moreover, that

**Is Zeus really
a Supreme
Ruler?**

¹ See page 97.

² See Geddes, *l.c.* p. 135, note.

³ It is also remarkable that many of the earliest seats of the worship of Zeus were on high mountains. Olympus; Mt. Ida and the Dictæan Mt. in Crete; Mt. Ida in Phrygia; Mt. Aetna; Oeta in Thessaly were all celebrated in this way.

the very opposition to the will of Zeus is always such as to bring out the fact of his power and, in the long run, of his absolute supremacy. We have already pointed out that he should be viewed from a standpoint which might be called dynamical rather than statical. In other words it is a growing supremacy—one which is ever tending to become more and more stable, rather than starting from a position of absolute security. The question is sometimes asked, whether the will of Zeus is regarded as subordinate to Fate or as superior to it? This is a question which the Homeric bard could never have answered—but neither would he have asked it, for he had not yet been troubled with modern controversies about Free-will and Determinism. The Homeric poets hardly considered Fate as really distinct from the will of Zeus—neither did they consider them explicitly as identical. They view them from different standpoints, and if the two are set in what looks like momentary opposition to one another, it is merely a dramatic expedient for bringing out their abiding and essential harmony. Homeric religion is based not so much upon logic as upon imagination, a fact which it is easy for literary criticism to overlook.

What is worth drawing attention to is the close relation existing between Zeus and Themis. This abstraction-goddess signifies human right, based indeed upon convention, but also involving the principle of pure justice. "Ἄρῃ or Infatuation, is another principle which is bound up with the idea of Fate or Destiny in an evil sense. In so far as it is supposed to come upon men as a punishment for crime, this idea has a distinctly ethical value. Without fixing a special relation between "Ἄρῃ and the gods, we may say that the Homeric mind conceived the former vaguely as in harmony with the divine will.

From what has been stated, the student will understand that the Olympians in Homer are not regarded solely as workers of beneficence. Everything in the world which could not be obviously understood was referred to supernatural, and usually to divine, agency. There is no distinct principle of evil (as in

many religious systems) to account for the drawbacks of human life. As in **Do the Homeric gods work evil?** men good and evil tendencies are intermingled ; so the gods, being viewed as men on a grander and somewhat higher scale, are neither exempt from suffering evil nor incapable of doing it. They may use fraud as well as force, and just like men require to be bound by oaths. Bad luck as well as good comes from the gods, and all sorts of dreams, and most of all sudden madness and aberration. Moreover, it is to be tolerated and even expected in the gods that with their greater power and less external responsibility, many actions shall pass unquestioned which would bring shame upon poor weak humanity. Hence Homer and his Olympians were commonly reprobated by moralists, especially among the ancients. Plato, we have seen, was inexorable in banishing Homer from his ideal state, and mainly on account of what he considered an immoral picture of the divinity. For Plato had reached a higher plane of religious thought than the anthropomorphic. Though he did not reject either the ritual or all the teaching of the State religion, he rejected its theological basis. Being one of the greatest apostles of monotheism that the world has known, he could not tolerate a less advanced and less perfect system of faith, at least as a vehicle of education. From his point of view he was justified. He excluded Homer from the school, as we should have to exclude him, if he were offered there as a guide and standard for our own morality and religion. But if we are to judge of the poems as literature, we must judge them according to the standards of their own age and the degree of enlightenment which their own authors could boast of. Viewed in this light, we cannot hesitate about admitting that the poems, taken as a whole, are healthy, pure, and invigorating, and that with all their limitations they have exercised an enormous influence for good upon the mind of Hellas, and therefore of humanity.

We may refer to a statement of Herodotus bearing on this subject which is frequently quoted. He says

(in Book ii. chap. 53) that Homer together with Hesiod actually created the Greek theogony, deciding the number of the gods, their origin, titles, prerogatives (*τιμαί*) faculties (*τέχναι*) and their personal characteristics (*εἰδέα*). Now there is a

**Influence of
Homer on Greek
Mythology.**

sense in which this statement is true enough. It is impossible to exaggerate the religious influence on the Greek mind of the great epics, and especially of Homer whom Hesiod merely follows "magno intervallo." But the bards gave what they got. To say they created the Theogony may be misleading. They dealt with popular legends, selecting, purifying, transforming them if you will, by their art, but they did not invent them at will. Mythology is a gradual growth of the mind of the people, and the primitive poet may have ventured to interpret, but not to create in the full sense of the word. What Homer did, perhaps consciously, was to suppress one legend and to stereotype another for all time, and in this sense alone is it fair to call him the creator of Greek mythology.

The gods are depicted in Homer as being very near their clients, and in the closest relations to all the events of life. Even what we should think ordinary occurrences the Homeric man naturally referred to Zeus, and sometimes more than that god cared for.

**Some character-
istics of the
Homeric Cult.**

At least he is made to complain,¹ "Alas! how greatly do mortal men find fault with the gods—for they say that their troubles come on them from us, whereas it is from their own folly that they suffer woes beyond what is destined them." However this might be, these believers in the Olympic powers lived as it were continually in their presence, and nothing makes this plainer than their habits in regard to sacrifice. They undertook nothing, did nothing, small or great, without some sacrificial rite, at least that of libation, which was of course the simplest. It may be well to recall here a few of the characteristic details of the ceremonies,

¹ *Od. i. 33-5.*

though as they are constantly being repeated, they will soon become familiar to the student of the poems. Sacrifice was a simple thing; as we shall see in our next Section,¹ it did not require a professional priest, and to sit down to the chief meal of the day without a preliminary offering to the gods would have been, if not an impious act, at least equivalent to partaking of refection without a blessing. For not merely on the occasion of a solemn sacrifice, but even in the case of a large meal, involving the slaughter of an animal, this was itself treated as a divine victim, and was slain in a sacrificial manner. The sacrificer washed his hands symbolically, barley grains were "thrown forward" (probably on the head of the victim),² prayer was offered with hands outstretched, the throat of the victim was turned upward (if the sacrifice was to an Olympian) and was then cut with a knife. Certain portions of the thigh-bones, wrapped in fat, were burnt in honour of the divinity, with a libation of wine poured on them. Then there was a ceremonial tasting of the vitals, and after that the ordinary meal commenced on the bulk of the meat. But even during the meal no one presumed to drink unless all had been first supplied with a few drops of wine to pour out in libation to the god. At all times libation was most frequent among the Greeks: when wine could not be had, they used water. To the Chthonian deities honey, mead, and water, but not wine, were offered.

The Homeric people believed that at death, the soul issued from the body, sometimes with the life-blood in case of a mortally wounded hero, and that it continued to lead a sort of phantom life in the nether world. The conception of this departed shade was itself of a very shadowy sort. We are told distinctly that unless the dead were, so to speak,

**The supposed
condition of the
Dead.**

¹ See below, pages 207 and 215.

² In some cases, but apparently not as a rule, the hair of the victim was ceremonially cut and cast into the fire. See *Od.* iii. 446 and *Il.* xix. 254.

revived and resuscitated by a draught of fresh-flowing blood, they were, with a single exception,¹ deprived of consciousness. Yet no doubt the bards imagined that the dead were capable of different degrees of happiness, and that this depended in great measure upon the treatment accorded to their lifeless corpses. Hence the mutilations of dead foes through anger, and the many important conflicts waged over the bodies of the slain, as those of Sarpedon and Patroclus. And the greatest misfortune that could befall a warrior was to be torn by dogs and birds of prey, without receiving due burial. Even to die by drowning, or to be buried at sea, was a sadder occurrence than it would be with us.

Funerals, therefore, were carried out with great elaboration and at large expense. When cremation was had recourse to, as it usually was, it was under the idea that fire, while it effectually bars the way to all mutilation or defilement, has also a purifying effect which indirectly benefits the soul of the departed. The burning was of course carried out ceremoniously, the corpse being laid in the fat of victims, and copious libations of wine and honey were poured out upon it. The bones were reverently collected, covered with linen, and placed in a mortuary urn. This was often buried in the earth, and over a super-incumbent mound, a memorial stone (*στήλη*) was set, probably with some rough symbolism at least marked on it, though this point is not recorded in the poems.²

¹ That of Teiresias, to whom alone was granted *πεπνύσθαι*.

² We shall have to recur to the Homeric *στήλαι* below in connection with the four discovered over the shaft-graves at Mycenæ. See pages 250 and 286.

§ 3. Social Organisation

Before trying to construct from the poems a picture of Homeric society it might be wise to enquire how far is such a process justifiable? This is not the question, on which opinions must necessarily differ, as to the amount of historic truth contained in the poems as narratives of actual events. For even though we granted for the sake of argument—what we should by no means be disposed to grant in reality—namely, that the poems are pure romance, say like the *Arabian Nights*, yet even in that supposition we should still maintain that, to a certain extent, they would necessarily reflect the experience of the author. Moreover, though this is true of all literature, it will be so especially in the case of that which is, as Homer confessedly is, marked by naturalness and simplicity. But we need not argue the point, for not even the most sceptical writers on Homer have dreamed of denying that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may be legitimately used for the construction of at least the general outlines of pre-Hellenic social organisation.

What is perhaps more necessary is to enter a caution against the possibility of our being misled by the very vividness of the picture presented to us, and so allowing ourselves to forget that after all Homer is literature, and therefore does contain an element of rhetoric and imagination. What is related, even when it is true, yet may be exceptional and indeed may be portrayed therefor. Achilles in his passion may utter strange words, which perhaps we should do well to take with at least 'a grain' of salt; a brutal Achæan has the bad manners to hurl an ox-foot at the disguised Odysseus, but this hardly proves that all Achæans were intolerably savage.

Another little caution is this. We have seen that

the Homeric people were certainly in touch, (whether directly or possibly through the Phœnicians), with oriental systems of culture more advanced than their own. We may conclude from this not merely that a foreign element was introduced into their actual civilisation, but there must have been a temptation to the bards to embroider, or to interweave the texture of their work with allusions to foreign grandeur with which they may perhaps have been but slightly acquainted.

Lastly, so far from starting with the express assumption, as a recent writer has done,¹ that the Homeric poems *represent a single culture-epoch*, we hope the reader has been already convinced that they do nothing of the sort. It is true that, as, in the last Section on Homeric geography, so in considering Homeric social institutions, it may be permitted for convenience sake to view the subject from a single standpoint, and to regard the picture as if painted by a single hand. But we shall do well continually to remember that this is something of a makeshift, and that in the poems we have multifarious elements both of time and place, of which the resultant unity is less real than apparent.

Proceeding therefore cautiously, and admitting the difficulty of the task, yet endeavouring to avoid what is controversial and to keep to what is clearly delineated, we may hope to construct a fairly just portrait of many of the conditions of social life in the Homeric period.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* agree in uniformly presenting a picture of a people who though not primitive were in a rude stage of progress. In all organised life there must be a double basis—the physical and the ethical—but comparing Homeric with modern or even with Hellenic society we at once see that the material element preponderates. The law most in evidence all through is the rule of the stronger: the principle of right as against might is by no means absent, but it is only struggling to come to the front. We need

**Society roughly
organised but
strongly
aristocratic.**

¹ A. G. Keller in *Homeric Society* (see Introduction, p. 5), a book, however, of much value, to which I am glad to be able to express my many obligations.

not insist too much on occasional acts of extreme brutality, especially in regard to incidents which may be introduced partly for poetic effect. But from the way in which theft, adultery, rapine, and homicide are usually spoken of we can learn that they were not fully reprobated. With regard to murder, indeed, the guilty party suffered this disadvantage, that he was expected to compromise matters by a money payment to the relatives of the deceased. But the acceptance of this was voluntary, and if it was refused, the injured party were permitted, or perhaps we should say, expected to inflict adequate private vengeance for the bloodshed.

The way piracy is spoken of is very instructive. It was the ordinary thing, when accosting travellers, to ask them, 'Who are you? Whence do you come? Are you engaged in trade, or *do you rove at adventure as sea-robbers* who wander at hazard of their lives bringing bane to strangers?'¹ 'Cattle-lifting' in particular was quite a respectable employment, and indeed was a service which a suitor for a bride might offer to perform for his father-in-law as an inducement. We gather, moreover, that the lot of the orphan was regarded as a hard one, that his rights were liable to infringement: however, this need not imply that such rights were non-existent.

The family tie was very strong: anything approaching parricide or incest (except among the gods) is viewed with horror. The idea of the State is but that of an extended family, and although the ethical and legal code was not elaborate, such as it was, to protect it devolved on the father and the king respectively. And not merely is it the king's duty to see that the rules are kept,² but he does this as the representative of Zeus, and those who give 'crooked judgments' are said not to regard the vengeance of the gods.³

By stating that Homeric society is distinctly aristo-

¹ *Od.* iii. 71 and ix. 252.

² The word is *θέμιστες* or 'precedents,' which is almost the Homeric equivalent to our idea of 'law and order.'

³ οἱ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας . . . θεῶν ὕπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

cratical we mean that the Achæan nobility constitute its chief element. They are not much more than nominally subject to the king; whereas in contrast to the common people their position is paramount. Both in peace and in war they are depicted in the poems as living a splendid life, owning spacious palaces and accumulated wealth, and endowed (like the Hellenic cities of later date) with local autonomy and practically sovereign rights. Achilles, Menelaus, Odysseus, in fact all the leading chieftains are spoken of as 'divinely-nurtured kings,'¹ though it is true that Agamemnon, as the Leader of the Hosts in the Trojan war, is recognised as having very marked attributes of respect. The poems have been called Court poems, so strongly do they paint the superiority of the chieftains over the common soldiery; and it is to be noted that any occurrence in the poems of professional bards represents them as retainers in the palaces of kings.

The king (it has been already hinted) is to the State on a larger scale what the patriarch is to his own family.

**Patriarchal
constitution of
the State.**

His great function is of course to lead in war—in fact we may suppose him to hold the office in virtue of his higher strength and fighting capacity—qualities not dimly expressed by the conventional assumption that he is the descendant of the gods, often (like Achilles, Æneas, or Sarpedon) their son. But besides his military duty, the king has two other offices which are distinctly patriarchal: he must sacrifice to the gods for his people, and he must preside over the dispensation of justice to them. Thus he is General, High Priest, and Supreme Judge, all in one.

Moreover, there are certain forms of the State fully recognised as already in being. These are the Council and the Agora or general assembly of the people. The Council consists of the nobles or subordinate kings who

¹ Sir Richard Jebb appears quite to have disposed of Mr. Gladstone's contention that the expression *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* as applied to specified individuals carried with it any special signification.—See *Homer*, p. 47, note.

meet to discuss matters of policy. The picture given us in the poems represents the king alone as endowed with direct authority; the members of the Council are competent to offer their opinions—which they do with great freedom though with absolute respect to the presiding sovereign—and it then devolves solely on the latter to give a final decision. The power of the people in the Agora (as in the Spartan Assembly of a later era) is merely passive. They meet to receive their orders and have no alternative but to accept them, and, if they like, to express their approval by acclamation. Hence we might perhaps sum up the position of the king by remarking that, whereas with ourselves the pre-eminence of the sovereign is social rather than political (but none the less weighty on that account), in Homeric times his nominal power was fairly unlimited, while his real influence was comparatively small.

To return to the chieftains, or lesser kings, there is an important fact to be noted. From the way they are spoken of in the poems, it is clear that to the poets' mind they represent a recent and not a long-standing political organisation. The people, though wholly subordinated to their rulers, are not always in complete harmony with them, and are perhaps purposely shown in the poems as of a distinct and inferior breed. The very genealogies of the kings (even Agamemnon himself) show that they had not been long rooted in the soil: when traced back a very few generations they lead either to a foreign (*e.g.* Phrygian or Thracian) source, or else to a divine progenitor as Zeus.¹ Again, Menelaus speaks to Telemachus, offering to settle him in Laconia, "we will sack a town for you," as though it would cost him very little to leave his own home and seek a new one. Besides we have distinct traces of a traditional pre-Achæan stage in Tiryns, Laconia, and Crete. This is a matter of much significance, but we cannot dwell on

¹ This particular characteristic belongs quite as much to the Trojan as to the Achæan Confederacy, and is illustrated by Priam's own genealogy.

it here. For there are other aspects of Homeric society which, for the present, demand our attention.

The question of land-tenure in Homeric times is one which is much debated, and it is not easy to give a simple

**System of
Land-Tenure.**

statement on the subject which will certainly cover all the references to it in the poems. In primitive times among many, perhaps among most, peoples, the communal or tribal possession of land prevailed, private tenure being wholly unknown. The people or tribe not merely possessed but often cultivated the land in common; or if they had plots allotted to them, these were merely divisions of a common field which were by no means regarded as private property, even though the individual's right to cultivate a portion might be regarded as personal. The king or chieftain alone owned a special division of land, but even in his case the possession was merely official and would not descend in case of elective succession to his children as a family inheritance.

Now, in Homer we have many clear traces of this Common Field system of land-tenure, which is specially mentioned in the *Iliad*.¹ The Royal demesne (τέμενος)² is frequently referred to in both poems, and such a royal field (unlike the ordinary citizen's) had a hedge round it. Such a τέμενος is also distinctly spoken of as a gift from the people, to whom the ultimate dominion of land appears to have appertained.

It is not, however, so certain that all the allusions in Homer to property in land can be satisfactorily explained on the Common Field system of tenure. Professor Ridgeway who has gone far in defending this view,³ and has tried to explain several expressions⁴

¹ Book xii. 422. ἐπιξύνω ἐν ἀρούρη.

² This expression is also used to denote the Demesne of a god or goddess.

³ See Article entitled *The Homeric Land System* in *J.H.S.*, vol. vi., p. 319, and *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i., p. 678.

⁴ For instance, he maintains that πολυλήϊος (*Iliad* v. 613) means not 'rich in corn-fields' from λήϊον, but 'rich in possessions' from λεία. He also deals with πολύκληρος and ἀκληρος, which occur in the *Odyssey* only.

in the *Iliad* in harmony with it, yet admits that in the *Odyssey* at least private property in land is beginning to creep in; but that there is a clear contrast between the state of things described therein, and that of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod when private estates are spoken of as being ordinarily bought and sold. He even adds "this has an important bearing on the chronology of the Poems." As however the subject is somewhat obscure, we thought it better not to introduce it at length when treating of the date and origin of the poems (see above page 100).

The treatment of guests, even when they are perfect strangers, is one of the most interesting and pleasing features of Homeric life. Naturally

**The law of
Hospitality.**

there is more of it in the more peaceful and domestic of the two poems. The central and by far the most attractive portion of the *Odyssey* is taken up largely with the reception of Odysseus (at first as a perfect stranger, thrown up naked from the sea) at the court of Alcinous, where he is received, first by the king's daughter and then by the king himself, with royal kindness, and is most sumptuously entertained. But this action is depicted as normal: any lack of hospitality would have been an outrage against good breeding and religion; would involve the scorn of men as well as the vengeance of Zeus Herkeios, Zeus of the Hospitable Hearth. Guests are called 'revered' persons, and it is said that Zeus specially attends on them.¹ The guest often took the guise of a suppliant by sitting in the ashes of the hearth, but this was in order to obtain special grace, and was by no means universally expected of the stranger under ordinary circumstances. There is nothing causes more horror than the violation of hospitality. It is a crime attributed to the most savage and murderous peoples, and is reprobated as an aggravating circumstance on the part of the cannibal Polyphemus, who

¹ See *Od.* ix. 270-1 :—

Zeὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξείνων τε
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἀμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

devoured in his cave the companions of Odysseus. A guest, too, of course had reciprocal obligations, and it is noteworthy that the Trojan war was undertaken to avenge the treachery of Paris when Menelaus was entertaining him. When the Achæans were sick of the struggle it was enough to remind them that the high principle of hospitality was at stake. In the *Iliad*, too, there is given a beautiful instance of two guest-friends meeting in the battle-field as opponents, and on their mutual recognition refusing to fight and exchanging arms as a sign of their amity.¹

It has been suggested² that this love of hospitality indicates a reaching forth of the Homeric people towards the outside world, and was a product of their contact with higher civilisations than their own. It cannot be denied that the prevalence of such customs would operate in favour of travel, exploration, and commerce, though it would be easy to exaggerate in seeking to explain artificially the wide-spread generous instincts of a scattered race.

Nothing can give a more clear and at the same time favourable view of Homeric society than to understand fully the place which women held in it. And this is more remarkable because it is the one point in which we cannot help recognising a very unpleasant retrogression in the descendants of these people as revealed to us in later Greek literature. In Homer woman is very much in evidence and almost invariably in what we should now call her proper sphere. She was not excluded, put out of sight; she held a very prominent position in family life, and held it very well. As wife, as mother, and as queen she is depicted as uniformly exercising a noble but gentle sway over the stronger sex, so that down to our own day the names of Athena, Nausicaa, Penelope, and Andromache are

**Woman's high
position and
influence.**

¹ They were Diomedes the Achæan warrior and Glaucus of Lycia, whose grandfather had been entertained by the grandfather of Diomedes. This was, therefore, an instance of hereditary friendship merely. See *Il.* vi. 145 ff.

² See Keller, *Homeric Society*, p. 303.

household words to us, standing for all that is pure in girlhood and lovable in matronly virtue. It is acknowledged that lapses from the standard occur: Aphrodite is a seductive goddess and brings Helen to ruin; nor is the story of Potiphar's wife without its analogue in Homer: but the higher ideal is simply and surely delineated, and carries with it its own evidence that it is based on reality and truth.

Except among the Trojans and their allies, the only system of marriage known to the Homeric people is monogamy. A wife is purchased by bride-gifts, but she has her rights which her blood-relatives will safeguard. If for a just reason she is put away, the bride-gift must be duly returned to the husband. A widow might re-marry, but in case of doubt of the husband's death she was to remain faithful, and should not re-marry at least during the minority of the heir. Even the story of Clytemnestra's falseness to her husband, and the crime which it entailed, is an additional proof, if one were needed, of the high rank of woman and of her domestic power, terribly abused in this instance.

It must be allowed that side by side with a strict juridical monogamy the poems testify to considerable latitude in regard to the possession by the husband of inferior women or concubines. This is clear, for instance, from the story of Briseis with which the *Iliad* opens. But it is necessary to bear in mind that Homeric society was based upon a system of slavery, in which women were bought and sold just like cattle¹ or other articles of commerce, a practice which must tend towards sexual laxity on the part of the rich. Moreover, some allusions in Homer to this subject would appear to indicate that the custom was not so depraved as might have been expected.²

On the whole we may fearlessly assert that the poems present a high standard of moral feeling for the social conditions which prevailed. There is no sort of sign

¹ The price of a female slave varied from four to twenty head of cattle. Once one hundred head of cattle are spoken of, but clearly by exaggeration.

² See *Il.* ix. 133 and 275; *Od.* i. 432.

or hint of gross or perverted passion, and while sexual matters are treated of with absolute frankness and freedom from affectation, there is evidenced a certain indefinable delicacy of mind which can only have been the outcome of a natural and wholesome existence. If a single exception to this rule can be detected in the *Odyssey*, it is in the doings of certain of the Olympians who were Asiatic importations, and represent a more unbridled lustfulness than the Homeric people claimed for themselves or even for their own native divinities.

Slaves were of course mere chattels, and their lot cannot appear enviable to us. Still the picture we

**The position of
Slaves in
Homer.**

get of slavery in Homer has its mitigating features. Both male and female slaves held, in some cases, positions of honourable trust, and were almost on a par with the rest of the household.¹ Many of them were captives in war, and thus they may have been not merely free but even of noble blood. The tasks performed by them were not degrading; the female slaves in particular worked immediately under the eye of their mistress and even in company with her.

As to the numbers of slaves, in a few individual cases they are spoken of as being large, but in these cases we might allow something for poetical amplification, as the evidence on the whole points the other way. In a society like the one we are considering very large numbers, at least of able-bodied male slaves, would constitute a real danger,² and there is reason to believe that the tendency was to put to death the males captured in battle rather than to enslave them. They might, however, be sometimes kept for ransom, or be sold to others who happened to require additional slaves.

There are indications of a regular slave-trade, which

¹ For instance Eumæus the Swine-herd of Odysseus was himself the owner of a slave whom he had bought. See *Od.* xiv. 449-52.

² It has been pointed out that there is no instance recorded of any rising of slaves during the long absence of the Achæans before Troy.

of course involved kidnapping, as part of the commerce of the Ægean. Some will be disposed to maintain this was carried on chiefly by the Phœnicians, but even they would look to the natives to supply them with slaves in return for other commodities. But we doubt if there is sufficient reason for thinking that the Phœnicians had anything like a monopoly of the slave-trade. The Taphians¹ certainly practised it, and when opportunity offered it is most probable that the Achæans would do the same, though the fact is evidence on the subject is scanty.

The above view as to the comparative fewness of slave-men, is borne out by references to a very poor class of free-men, called Thetes, who appear to have been not much better off than slaves. No doubt many of them may have been emancipated, as Eumæus thought he had a right to be.² These men appear to have been agricultural labourers, and at a later date Hesiod speaks of their being hired for a short period only, which certainly would not conduce to their comfort.

**Industrial
Organisation.**

In the later Homeric period at least, agriculture appears to have been well advanced. The people, who must have been originally nomadic and probably still contained among them tribal elements who lived chiefly by cattle-raising if not by wilder pursuits, are portrayed not merely as raising a large variety of sown crops, but also possessing very elaborate vineyards and orchards stocked with many varieties of fruit. Even allowing plentiful discount for imagination, we shall safely conclude that they were really advanced in agricultural science. Besides the use of wine seems to be almost universal, which we cannot believe was anything but home-made.

With regard to the advancement of handicraft, our conclusions will be similar. In one passage we have

¹ See *Od.* xv. 427. The Taphians were acknowledged freebooters : their race is very uncertain.

² *Od.* xiv. 61-67.

certain public workmen enumerated in which there is only one handicraft mentioned, the 'Fashioner of timber' (by which is chiefly meant the ship-carpenter) —the others being the Soothsayer, the Doctor, and the Bard.¹ These are spoken of as being the sort of workmen who are likely to be imported from foreign lands. Before discussing them we may point out that elsewhere other trades are mentioned, notably the Potter, the Leather-cutter, and the Smith. It is to be noticed with regard to this last term (*χαλκεύς*) that although it properly means Copper-smith it is used indifferently for any worker in metals, including the jeweller. But we must remember that a great deal of what we should call skilled labour was done by ordinary people. Division of labour was still in its infancy. The women did the weaving; the men could put their hands to nearly everything; Odysseus was very skilful with the plough, besides being well able, in an emergency, to build himself a sea-going vessel or raft.

Homeric surgery appears to have been simple and effectual. It was not unconnected with charms and incantations, but in addition to these good work was done by cleansing wounds and treating them with dried herbs before binding them strongly. Wine was given as a stimulant to the wounded man, which Plato takes as a proof of strong constitutions.

We have already seen that the Homeric warrior was his own family priest, as also the king for the whole people. Hence, there were no professional priests, except certain guardians at the oracles or shrines of the gods, those of Dodona being mentioned with a certain awe. The soothsayer and dream-interpreter were required to interpret the will of heaven, and were certainly held in deep respect. Most of all were the bards beloved, who were supposed to be under the direct inspiration of the gods, especially Apollo. To kill a bard was regarded as a terrible misfortune: their

¹ *Od.* xvii. 384-5:—

μάντιν ἢ ἱητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων
ἢ καὶ θέσπιν αἰοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν αἰδῶν.

presence was required at marriages and funerals as well as at harvest and other festivals: they were attached to the palaces of the great Achæan nobles.

There is no mention of money in the poems. The usual medium or standard of barter was the ox; but also bars of metal may perhaps have been in use, as we hear of a talent,¹ *i.e.*, a definite weight, of gold as having a fixed value. In the way commodities are spoken of it is often possible to form an estimate of their relative value. Thus Agamemnon when praising Teucer for his bravery² promises if Troy is sacked to give him "either a tripod or a pair of horses with a chariot or a female slave to be a companion." Again,³ a valuable tripod is said to be worth twelve oxen, while a skilful woman is only rated at four.

Writing can hardly have been in very general use, as it is only mentioned once, and then doubtfully, in the poems.

¹ Properly a pair of scales, and used also in this sense in Homer.

² *Il.* viii. 287 ff.

³ *Il.* xxiii. 179.

§ 4. Material Civilisation

What we regard as the precious metals appear to have been plentiful with the Homeric people, but most plentiful, according to the poems, at Thebes (Egypt), Sidon, and Cyprus; from which we might suppose that gold and silver was obtained chiefly from southern sources. However, it is almost certain that there was a good gold supply from Lydia; and we are distinctly told¹ that the birth-place of silver is Halybe, which has been generally identified with the country of the Chalybes on the far N.-E. coast of Asia Minor. In addition to gold and silver, they certainly were acquainted with and possessed copper, tin, lead, and iron.² Lead is used merely for weights; to iron we shall have to give special consideration later.

The metal most often referred to is χαλκός, which means bronze, or an alloy of copper, which was got from Cyprus, and tin, which was got from the West, probably from Cornwall. There is some difficulty in understanding how the ancients with their appliances could fuse the metals together, and some authorities have maintained that χαλκός was either pure copper, or perhaps some natural alloy which was harder than pure copper. We may take it as certain, however, that although in the South Ægean the pure copper age lasted for a longer time than in the Hellespontine area, long before the Homeric period bronze was fully understood and in common use for weapons, tools, and house ornamentation. For in the descriptions of Homeric palaces, especially that of Alcinous, which is

¹ In the Catalogue, *Il.* ii. 857.

² With regard to the so-called Electron (or Electros), a supposed alloy of gold and silver, there is no clear evidence of its occurrence in Homer. I take the references in Homer to refer uniformly to natural amber.

perhaps the grandest, we are told that the very walls were coated with bronze, "from the threshold right through to the inmost corner," while the frieze was made of cyanos,¹ and the doors plated with gold. As has been frequently stated, we must make some allowance for the poet's imagination, but there was also a basis of fact for these wonderful stories of Homeric splendour.

From the descriptions of the bards we should conclude not merely that the metals were used in high profusion, but also that they were worked with great dexterity. The brooch of Odysseus is said to represent a hound holding a fawn in its forepaws which was writhing in its grasp. This would rather suggest that the bard had sometimes seen very elaborate, though of course not necessarily native, metal-work. But the shield of Achilles far surpasses anything else in the poems (or almost outside of them) for its wonderful representations of life. It was supposed to be of divine workmanship, but that is not inconsistent with some basis of reality in its delineation.² What is most to be noted is the effect produced by overlaying of one metal on another, as of silver or tin upon a field of gold. Such a treatment of the metals certainly suggests that the poet's imagination had been stimulated by a real acquaintance with the gold and silver-smith's achievements.

In early civilisations just as the "Stone Age" is supplanted by that of metals and especially of Bronze, so the "Bronze Age" in its turn gives way to that of iron. By the Bronze Age we mean of course not that the use of stone has ceased altogether, but that tools and especially weapons of

**Do the Poems
deal with an
'Age of Iron'?**

¹ The exact meaning of this will be explained further when we come to the archæological record.

² See *Il.* xviii. 478 ff. The shield of Achilles has been so often described (in fact there is almost a literature concerning it) that it hardly seems necessary to give a full account of the various scenes depicted by the artist. It is doubtful whether the shield is conceived as round or oblong. For the latter view see an interesting note in Leaf and Bayfield's *Iliad*, vol. ii. p. 448.

bronze are at least gradually and as far as is practicable coming into general use. In like manner the Iron Age implies not the complete absence even of bronze weapons, but that the superiority of iron implements is becoming more and more recognised, and thus the general use of bronze is tending to become obsolete.

Taking the words in this sense it is not easy to decide at once whether the Homeric age is one of bronze or of iron, and it is the more difficult because of the gradual composition of the poems, and the fact that undoubtedly when they were finally put into their present form the use of iron was fully established. This question is of enormous importance, and is highly controversial, but all we need do here is to state the facts, without as yet determining what conclusions may be fairly drawn from them.

In the first place then it goes without saying that in Homer the use of bronze is much more general than that of iron. For instance in the *Iliad* bronze is mentioned two hundred and seventy-nine times as against fourteen occurrences of iron. It has been argued that in many of the references to bronze weapons the expressions may be conventional and that we should understand them of iron, as when we speak of 'coppers' and really mean 'bronzes.' Although such an assumption could not perhaps be demonstrated to be false, it would be even more difficult to prove it true. Is it not most unlikely that bards whose vision was clear, and their delight in simplicity and realism, should fail to distinguish between two very dissimilar metals, one of which was coming into use and the other getting antiquated? If iron had really come in, if it were in 'full swing' in the civilisation known to the bards, they who loved to tell of the best they knew of, and of the latest grandeurs of their times, would hardly have felt any attraction to supply their heroes, at least habitually, with a panoply of bronze.

But without imaginary arguments like the above, the case for an iron civilisation is still not to be despised.

Mr. F. B. Jevons¹ has shown that the references to iron are considerably numerous, and that they occur almost as frequently in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*, and in the supposed earlier just as much as in the later parts of the earlier poem. Moreover, several of the notices of iron treat it as a well-known familiar thing, as a type of what is strong, and in certain proverbial phrases, which would imply that the metal had a long-established, almost dominant, position in the world. And even though the mention of bronze is far more frequent, yet there is an abundant mention of iron to satisfy our definition of an 'Iron Age'—not, namely, one in which bronze has gone out—but one in which iron is coming in.

It will conduce to a clearer view of this important problem if we make a short analysis of the references in question. They may be conveniently grouped into three classes :—

I. Those which allude to iron as an ore or something rare and valuable.

II. Proverbial expressions which assume that iron is well-known as the type of strength and hardness.

III. Those which speak simply of iron weapons as though in common use.

Now the first class of references hardly bears on the question. It is certain that iron as an article of commerce was known from very early times. It occurs in Egypt as early as the Fourth Dynasty, though there is no native supply in the country. Our problem regards not the knowledge of iron, but the knowledge required to turn it to account. Of the second class of references there are eleven instances (some of them, however, mere repetitions), and almost equally distributed between the two poems. Now, if what we assume to be the case is true, namely, that the poems were either put together or re-cast in Ionia at a time when the use of iron was well advanced, a few proverbial ex-

¹ In an article entitled "Iron in Homer" in the *J.H.S.*, xiii., p. 25.

pressions¹ of this sort could very easily find their way into the poems and need cause us no surprise.

Of the third class of references, *i.e.*, to iron *weapons*, there are seven in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*. These are no doubt more difficult to account for, on the supposition that the poems deal simply with bronze civilisation. Even the later bards might have been expected to avoid a patent anachronism in describing the Homeric armour. On the other hand, none of these cases occur in the more primitive portions of the *Iliad*.² And remembering how little we actually know of the early history of the poems, the question remains whether this small residuum of really difficult allusions is sufficient to outweigh all the arguments on the other side. The archæological evidence must be deferred.

The form of the Homeric house is also a much-debated question, and one that is far from finally decided. Here,

**The Homeric
Palace.**

as so often, the most we can hope to do for the student is to indicate the points which appear certain, or nearly so; and then with regard to what is problematical, merely to state the difficulties without attempting to solve them. Fortunately these mostly concern matters of detail.

In the poems there are descriptions of three royal palaces, giving an idea of great size and splendour, on the combination of which all attempts to reconstruct the Homeric house will necessarily depend. It is true that only one of the three, that of Odysseus, belongs to an Achæan³; the others are the dwellings of the Trojan

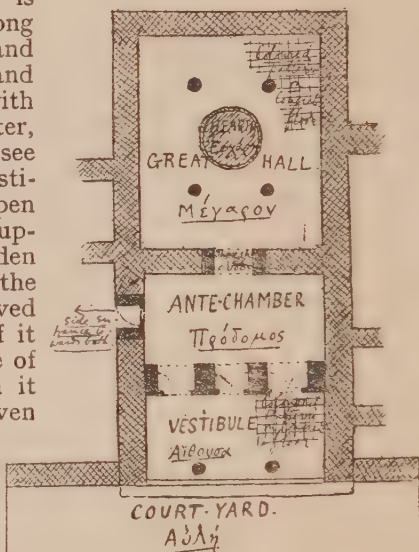
¹ One of these expressions is "the gates of Tartarus are of iron and the threshold of brass." In Hesiod, *Theog.* 732, the expression is exactly the same, except he has *ἔνθα τε μαρμάρειαι* instead of *ἔνθα σιδήρειαι τε*. May we not reasonably hold that this is the original version, and that our Homeric text is a later improvement made in the Iron Age?

² They occur mostly in Books iv. to vii., or in Book xxiii., which are all late. One occurs in Book xviii. of which the age is more doubtful.

³ The palace of Menelaus at Sparta is also described, but only in general terms, as "gleaming] with gold, amber; (*ἡλεκτρον*), silver, and ivory."

Pram and the Phæacian Alcinous. Still in many respects they follow a common plan.

Entering the courtyard (*αὐλή*), which is enclosed by a strong and high wall, and into which cattle, and even horses with chariots, could enter, the visitor would see opposite him a Vestibule or verandah open at the front and supported by wooden pillars (called the *αἶθουσα*). Here lived the slaves; part of it served the purpose of out-houses, and in it slept visitors and even the younger male members of the family. Off this vestibule opened an Ante-chamber (*πρόδομος*), beyond which again was



the Great Hall (*μέγαρον*). This had a roof supported by pillars, and sometimes some kind of an upper-story. In the centre of the hall was the family Hearth (*ἑσγάρη*), which was the centre of family life and round which its members with their guests were grouped. If, as we have reason to believe, the hall was square, and its roof supported by pillars, they would be round the hearth, and it is natural to find that the state-throne of Arete, Queen of Alcinous, was set against one of the pillars.

At the centre the Great Hall was open to the sky, or, to be more accurate, was perhaps covered by an open canopy, or lantern-like structure, which would keep off

rain while allowing smoke to issue.¹ The floor was formed, like many modern ones, of clay beaten down to a smooth surface. The hearth in the centre was raised to a slightly higher level, and this was decorated with a simple ornamentation of colour.

Among the other apartments, of which there were evidently several, was certainly one containing arrangements for the bath, which was an important feature in Homeric life. Strangers arriving at a house were invited to bathe as a preparation for the meal which promptly followed.

It has been previously remarked that the bards attribute the highest splendour to the Homeric palace; that of Alcinous being especially extravagant in its gorgeousness. It has walls of bronze, a frieze of cyanos, doors of gold, doorposts and lintel of silver, and silver figures representing dogs as guardians of the threshold. No wonder that it gleamed as with the glory of the sun and the moon! Is this grandeur, then, merely the outcome of the bards' imagination, or at most is it but a blurred reflection of some stories they have heard of the palaces of Egyptian and Oriental kings? The answer to this question depends upon the view taken upon the archæological evidence.

One great controversy regarding the Homeric house regards the women. Had they a part of it to themselves, and if so where was it situated?

The position of the Women's Quarters. The theory which long prevailed was that *behind* the Great Hall, and leading directly from it, was the apartment which, in Hellenic times, was called the Gynaecônitis. But in Homeric times the position of women was at once far freer and more honourable than in later times. There is no trace of that seclusion of women, that thrusting of them away into the back-ground which unfortunately characterised the Athenian society of Pericles and of Plato. The Homeric woman mixes freely with the opposite

¹ We are told that Athena in the form of a swallow flew away from the Μέγαρον, *Od.* xxii. 240.

sex without losing aught of her dignity or her charm ; she is ready at every occasion to lend encouragement or help to her husband, her children, and even outsiders. This difference in the social status of woman cannot decide for us questions of architecture ; but it may caution us against assuming that in this department later customs will unlock for us the secrets of Homeric life.

We cannot be sure of allocating their proper quarters to the women of the Homeric family ; but we may at least regard the fundamental reason for the theory mentioned above as quite defective. It used to be supposed that the mention of two thresholds, the Ashen and the Stone, implied an important distinction—that whereas the former led from the Ante-chamber to the Great Hall, the latter led from the Great Hall to the women's quarters.¹ The distinction always seemed rather pointless, and it has now been cleared up on archæological grounds. There was a wide stone threshold, or broad raised step, passing into the hall, and *over* this was a wooden frame-work for a door, which made a complete vertical quadrangle, and of which the bottom joist gave an opportunity for fitting the pivot on which the Homeric door turned.² This bottom joist could be spoken of as the ashen threshold though it was placed upon the stone one, and thus the two expressions were practically convertible.

If then we reject the chief ground for putting the women's quarters at the back of the men's, it seems quite reasonable to accept the theory, for which there is literary as well as archæological evidence, that the Megaron of the women was, like most other apartments of the house, included in a distinct building with a roof of its own ; though in some cases it may have been, as we are told it was at Ithaca, upstairs.

¹ See for the οὐδὸς μέλιτος, *Od.* xvii. 339 ; and for the οὐδὸς λάϊνος, *xx.* 258.

² This view put forward in a brilliant article by Mr. J. L. Myres (*J.H.S.*, vol. xx. p. 136), has been accepted by Dr. Monro (*Odyssey*, xiii.—xxiv. p. 497) and on this point at least controversy is likely to die away.

The expression Recess (*μυχὸς δόμου*) probably was used vaguely for any very retired apartment or even portion of the house, and not for a distinct location. There still remain other complicated questions, especially as to the Palace of Odysseus, some of which have not received, and perhaps will never receive, a satisfactory explanation.

The student will best acquire a full and detailed knowledge of the domestic habits of the Homeric people from the reading of the poems : but it will be useful here to append to what has been already stated a few features of the picture.

**Domestic and
Dietary
arrangements.**

It has been remarked that the dog, as a domestic faithful animal, appears late on the scene. In the *Iliad* it is spoken of more commonly as a beast of prey, whereas in the *Odyssey* it is petted and loved as among ourselves. Horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and mules are all domesticated : we read little of asses, and among poultry of geese alone.

Hunting was of course much in vogue, and there was plenty of 'big' game, especially the lion, which is constantly mentioned as a very familiar institution. The skins of animals were in great request, being no doubt used as garments in winter, as well as for rugs and bedding. But woven materials are very common, and every house of importance had its loom, or several of them as the case might be. Woollen fabrics most commonly, but also linen ones, were in use. Nor should we gather that there was any lack of furniture in the larger houses at least. We read of tables which were probably quite small and easily moved ; of chairs, some of which seem to have had round backs ; of footstools. Of metal utensils there were bathing pans, bowls, goblets, ewers and basins, and quite a profusion of cooking utensils, besides many elaborate ornaments. It is remarkable, however, that though they had boiling apparatus¹ they seem not to have used this for purposes

¹ Water, at least, was commonly boiled in order to warm the bath.

of cooking—meat, as well as other sorts of food, were either roasted or baked in the hot embers of the hearth. Before speaking of the food eaten in the poems, we may draw attention to an interesting incident in the *Odyssey*, which gives perhaps a little touch of the home-life of the Achæans. In the island of Circe, Odysseus lost one of his companions, Elpenor,¹ owing to his accidentally falling from the roof of the house when suddenly called on to descend. He had been sleeping there, and we may gather that this was not an unusual occurrence, which would point to the use of flat roofs, although we know that gabled roofs were also adopted.

Elpenor's fall brings in another point of great interest. He was 'heavy with wine,' and yet his fall is not imputed to drunkenness so much as to forgetfulness and to extreme youthfulness and levity combined. Now, in the poems we read a great deal about drinking, but hardly ever of drunkenness, except in the case of the brutal Cyclops. The fact is the Homeric people (and the same is true of the later Greeks) were fond of hilarity, but not beyond measure. They drank plenty of wine, it is true, and the continual practice of libation to the gods tended to increase wine-drinking; but it was always watered, and, as we gather, freely.²

The most common word for food in Homer is *σίτος*, properly corn, which shows that cereals were largely used. Of these they had both wheat and barley—the latter being used sacrificially as well as for diet. Flesh meat was, however, the standard; its use, like that of wine, was encouraged by the religious observances already alluded to. They ate from the table without dishes, and apparently without forks, though these were certainly used (at least ritually) in cooking. Fish was not thought much of but was eaten by the poorest or only under necessity. Molluscs were, perhaps, in more

¹ See *Od.* xi. 552ff.

² It is said of Maron's wine (*Od.* ix. 209) that it was usually mixed in the proportion of 1 to 20! Even allowing for fabulous exaggeration to heighten the value of this wine, yet the statement would tend to show that large quantities of water could be taken with wine.

request.¹ Honey, too, was a very staple article of diet, and was used also as a sweetening condiment. Salt appears to have been only partially required, and not among those at a distance from the sea. Vegetable diet is occasionally mentioned; and with plenty of milk² and cheese to boot, the heroes must have been very fairly catered for.

Odysseus gives a very good and clear account of his own costume when as the Beggar in disguise he describes his own ordinary appearance

Male and Female Apparel.

to the incredulous Penelope.³ He says he wore a Chlaina, crimson and woolly, also called in the same passage a Diplax, and fastened by an elaborate gold pin;⁴ also a bright-shining Chiton, which fitted his body close 'like the skin of a dried onion,' and was furnished with tassels (no doubt, round the bottom edge, as we see it represented on the warrior vase). Of these the Chiton (or Tunic) being the inner garment, was the more indispensable. This name 'Chiton,' being used in Greek for the under-garment, no matter what its form, may have very various meanings, and could easily mislead us. The Doric chiton, for instance, which was almost universally adopted throughout Greece, in Hellenic times, was just the reverse of close-fitting. It was merely an oblong piece of stuff caught on the shoulders and hanging in loose folds to the feet, being worn by men and women, but if by the latter of much greater length. Clearly it had no sleeves, and in this it was not unlike the Ionic chiton, which was more elaborate. Even in Homer's time the Ionian warriors were characterised by the greater length of their chiton. Probably the ordinary Homeric chiton had sleeves, but was shorter than the Ionian. It has

¹ It is interesting to note that at Mycenæ unopened oysters were found in one of the royal graves. They must have been put there as food for the dead, whose tastes were not supposed to have undergone any change.

² It is not certain, however, that milk was plentiful. Polyphemus had no lack of either milk or cheese; and it would seem strange if the Homeric people had not a copious supply if they cared for milk diet.

³ *Od.* xix. 225-243.

⁴ See above, page 218.

been plausibly maintained that this garment was gradually evolved from a simple girdle or loin-cloth which was, no doubt, the primitive form of garment.

The 'Chlaina' was originally a skin of an animal, thrown over the back and shoulders; and when of woven stuff, it required some sort of fastening to keep it on, the most natural form of which was the brooch or safety-pin (*περόνη*). It was used especially as a covering at night, and would be laid aside in case of battle or the chase or any violent exercise. Probably in the summer it was not wanted at all, except at night.

The chief garment of the Homeric woman was a 'Peplos' which was probably like the Ionic chiton in falling to the feet, but it may have been wider and therefore fuller in its folds, and in other ways more ornamental. It is probable, moreover, that it was made warm and thick, and that the women did not wear anything over it except the veil (*καλυπτρα* or *κρήδεμνον*), which at least with ladies of distinction was a very important article of attire. It more or less enveloped them, at least it was large enough to hold up in front of the breast which would otherwise be partially exposed. The veil hung down from the head, over which was sometimes a stiff cap or coif (if this is the meaning of *κεκρύφαλος*), which was itself ornamented by a twisted band and a gold coronal or plaque. Of course the queens wore rich and costly ornaments. On the peplos offered to Penelope there were as many as twelve brooches, each with a separate sheath for its pin. Necklaces made of amber set in gold were worn, also bracelets, and very probably ear-rings. Even the peplos itself was embroidered in many colours, and perhaps with pictorial designs interwoven.¹

Lastly, we hear of girdles worn by the women and the goddesses, which articles also are described as being bright and beautiful.

In order to make our treatment of the following intel-

¹ In *Il.* iii., 125 ff, we are told that Helen was embroidering a Diplax with pictures of the Trojan war when Iris came to fetch her to see an actual battle.

ligible it will be needful to premise that there are two leading types of equipment forming a striking contrast to each other. By clearly understanding these types and by seeing to which of them the Homeric armour conforms, we shall learn best its character and be in a position to deal later with conflicting theories concerning it.

**Panoply of
Homeric
Warrior.**

The older and rougher type of defensive armour consisted chiefly in a large shield, made of ox-hide, very unwieldy no doubt, but an excellent defence against arrows, javelins, and even hand-to-hand attacks. It could not be used at all on horseback, but was not unsuitable for fighting from chariots. Being a complete body-covering, those using it did not require body-armour such as a cuirass, greaves, or even elaborate helmets. These, in fact, constitute the second and later type of armour; with these we are familiar as forming the equipment of the Hellenic Hoplite of historic times, who we know carried along with them a smaller round shield which was easily carried on the left arm, thus leaving the other free for purposes of offence. It is hardly necessary to point out that the larger body-shield could not be carried in one hand—though it could be slung across the shoulder by a strong leather strap (*τελαμών*).

These two classes of panoply being so different and even opposed in every particular, we might expect that it would not be difficult to decide under which of them the Homeric armour is to be included. As a matter of fact we have first-rate authorities seeking to identify the Homeric shield with the large body-shield, and equally good ones maintaining it was a small round one. One school declare that the Achæan hero had a large bronze helmet, metal cuirass, belt and greaves; their opponents maintain he wore a leather cap and linen corslet only, and leather gaiters used chiefly to protect his legs from the edge of the huge shield which alone protected the whole body. This, of course, is only a part—but a very important part—of the great controversy, 'Who were the Homeric People?'—the real issue being,

Do the so-called Mycenæan remains belong to the Achæans or not ?

Without anticipating all that must be said on this the greatest of all Homeric questions, we may state here boldly that in the poems *both* classes of defensive armour occur side by side. To prove this it will suffice to show that Homer certainly contemplates his heroes with large shields of the Mycenæan sort ; and secondly he speaks of them as being equipped with metal accoutrements such as should properly go with smaller shields. The conclusion we are suggesting may not at first sight appear satisfactory—but it will be seen on consideration to naturally follow from what has been maintained regarding the evolution of the poems through long periods of time. If we find evidences of different epochs of theological, ethical, syntactical progress, we must not be surprised to find side by side descriptions of earlier and of later types of military equipment also.

There are several passages in the poems, in which the large shield is clearly meant. In *Iliad*, xiii. 403,

Evidence for the large shield.

Idomeneus crouched behind it, so that he was wholly ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) covered. Again in *Odyssey*, xiv. 475, Odysseus says he slept within the shield, thinking that he would not find it cold, even in the snow which was thick upon it. The shield of Ajax is said to be like a tower.¹ Again, the shield of Periphetes of Mycenæ is said to have reached his feet, so that he was tripped up by it, and thus lost his life. There is also evidence that both hands could be used together manipulating the lance, as though the shield could be slung from the shoulder, and although it is perhaps not certain that this applies only to the large leather shield, it seems to point in that direction.

On the other hand, the shield is called ' a good circle ' and ' equal in every direction.' Can these expressions refer to the large Mycenæan shield ? There were appar-

¹ Ridgeway tries to minimize this expression, saying it might refer merely to the strength of the shield. Surely this is strained, especially as Ridgeway himself confesses that the large shield may have survived in some cases.—*Early Age of Greece*, p. 309.

ently two forms of this—one oblong, and the other a circle with the edges bent in, to form something like a figure-of-eight. It has been maintained that this latter form might take the epithets in question. However, they may also be due to the confusion which certainly exists in the poems between the older and later style of shield. This will become clearer if we now consider the other features of the Homeric panoply.

We may consider the points separately, and take the Breastplate first. There are many references to the

**Evidence for
Armour of later
type.**

θώραξ in the *Iliad* (not in the *Odyssey*, though the verb *θωρήσσεσθαι* frequently occurs, which seems to presuppose it). It appears strained to understand this of a mere *linen tunic*, and also the more because the Egyptians are called *λινοθώρακες*, and appear to be specialized in this way. Again, the expression *χαλκοχίτωνες* is commonly used of the Achæans. Now, it is very simple to understand this of a bronze breastplate, although the expression has been explained to refer to buttons or scales of bronze ornamenting the tunic. On the other hand, the references to the breastplate seem to indicate great confusion in the minds of the bards, as it is brought in as it were sporadically and without due consistency even of individual passages. On the whole the evidence seems to point to transition, and what may be called 'contamination' of two different styles of defence. It has been pointed out that the most frequent mention of the *θώραξ* in the *Iliad* is in the form of an oft-repeated formula (*διὰ θώρακος πολυδαΐ, δαλου ἡρήρειστο*) which is significant when taken with the absence of the *θώραξ* from the *Odyssey*. Moreover, when it is described at length, it comes as a present to Agamemnon from Cyprus, as though it were something rare and foreign. This would agree very well with the theory of its being a late importation towards the end of the Homeric period. Without, therefore going so far as to say that all passages implying the *θώραξ* are interpolations, we may believe that they are due to the fact that later work co-exists with earlier in the poems, even in single passages, and that the expressions referring

to greaves, to helmets, and to belts or body guards, all seem to point in the same direction. One of the most frequent epithets of the Achæans is 'well-greaved,' and although we cannot demonstrate that this refers to defensive armour, and not merely to gaiters protecting the shin, yet it is certainly far more obvious and natural to understand it so. Moreover, as Ridgeway well observes, the expression seems to mark out the Achæans themselves as specially distinguished for their greaves. The expression 'bronze-greaved' occurs once, and only once.¹ On the other hand, the greaves which Hephæstus makes for Achilles are formed out of tin. As this is a soft metal the incident is claimed as favourable by the advocates of both theories. The greaves (of whatever material) were fastened by bands of metal called *ἐπισφύρια*, sometimes made of silver. (See Pl. xiv. p. 251.)

The Homeric Helmet is a subject of much difficulty. The numbers of phrases concerning it are multifarious and in many cases of disputed meaning. What concerns us most is that there is evidence for the simple helmet of leather (with or without bronze adjuncts). The very name *κυνέη* would imply that it was sometimes made of dog-skin. On the other hand, the helmet was called *πάγχαλκος*, and was said to ring when it fell on the ground. These facts, as well as others which point in the same direction, certainly imply a regular bronze helmet such as we know was in use later, and even at the date when the poems received their present form. Hence we see here again evidence of transition. What is certain is that the helmet, of whatever material, possessed long horse-hair plumes, and *φάλοι*, which were in all probability horn-like projections, arranged in different ways according to taste. We must always remember that many nationalities met at Troy according to the story, and therefore we must not be surprised to find many discrepancies in points of detail.

There are three expressions for the warrior's belt

¹ In *Il.* vii. 41. It is only right to add that this line with the following one has every appearance of being a tag, and that they include another strange and doubtful word.

or belts. These include the ζῶμα, the μίτρη and the ζωστήρ. Probably the first was a loin-cloth of linen, sometimes in the form of short and loosely-fitting drawers; the second was a defensive belt, either made of metal or strongly-plated, broad in front, but narrowed where it was fastened 'at the small of the back.' ζωστήρ is probably a girdle of a simpler kind, of leather only.

With regard to offensive weapons the warrior usually had two long spears for hurling, and a shorter sword which could be used either for thrusting or cutting. We must guard against accepting the statement that a long, cutting sword is necessarily of iron.¹ We should not gather, at least from the *Iliad*, that the bow and arrow was much in repute with the Greeks as weapons of war. It is characteristic of the Trojan Paris, and generally of the Trojans and their allies the Lycians. On the other hand, it was by no means unusual to hurl stones. So far from this being undignified, to be able to hurl a large and crushing mass of rock was a standard test of martial prowess.

By speaking of the Homeric Chariot as a war chariot, we do not mean to imply that its use is excluded in time of peace, but merely that it is strongly characteristic of Homeric fighting.²

The War Chariot.

They were simply made but must have been very strongly built. Two horses only were the rule, with pole and yoke attachments. Rarely, however, a third, or trace horse, was added. As the form of chariot is very like that in use in Egypt, it is not unlikely that it was borrowed from that quarter. The body consisted of a little box or rather platform, which could be removed at will from the sub-structure of wheels and axle. It had a rail running round the front and sides, by which those standing in it could steady themselves, and at the back, which was open, the rail ended in vertical supports which could be grasped in

¹ Mr. J. L. Myres has pointed out that bronze swords of considerable length go back well into the Mycenæan period.

² It will be hardly necessary to point out, even for the tyro, that cavalry, as we understand it, is unknown to Homer. There is no riding in any shape or form.

ascending or descending, which in the battle-field had to be done often and while the horses were running. The warrior, who fought not so much from the chariot as after leaving it, had with him a charioteer who remained aboard, as his proper work consisted merely in driving. He was, however, liable to be frequently attacked, and without, it would seem, much power to defend himself. The chariot was substantially made of wood, though it also had certain fittings of metal and apparently of leather. In the case of Hera's car, all the parts were of bronze, silver, gold, and iron (the axle-tree), but of course this is not to be taken seriously as a description of a real chariot. In like manner her wheels are said to have had eight spokes, which is certainly an exaggeration as even in Hellenic times there is no evidence of eight, though sometimes six spokes were inserted, as in the Egyptian and Assyrian chariot. (See Plate.)

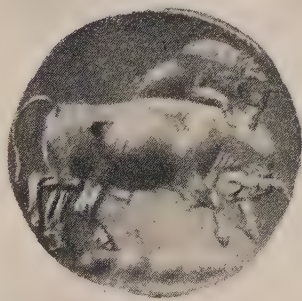
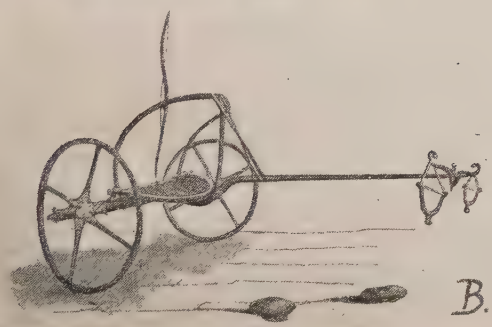
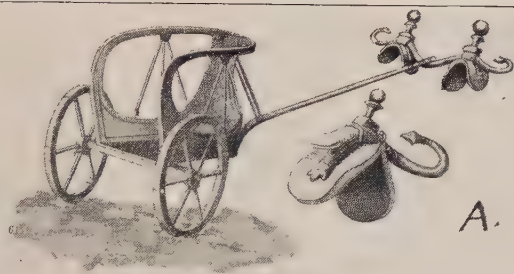
The method of attaching the yoke to the pole was complicated and has given commentators trouble. Mr. Leaf, following Helbig, explains it very clearly as consisting of a ring (*κρίκος*) permanently attached to the yoke, which was passed over a peg (*ἔστωρ*) fixed upright in the pole. There was also a lashing (*ζυγόδεσμον*) of a knob (*ῥμφαλος*) on the yoke to the turned-up end (*πέζη*) of the pole,¹ thus giving a double security. But there would, of course, be varieties of method, and it is not certain but that there is 'contamination' here.

A few notes on sea-craft and the use made of it will conclude our description of Homeric life. To have

Navigation. some idea of what sea-voyages meant in these times is necessary to the understanding of both the poems, which have little in common as to their plots except that they turn upon sea-faring expeditions.

The Homeric ship was not unlike a modern whaler, except that it was far more primitive, and perhaps in some cases larger. It was certainly not decked except partially fore and aft : it carried one mast and probably

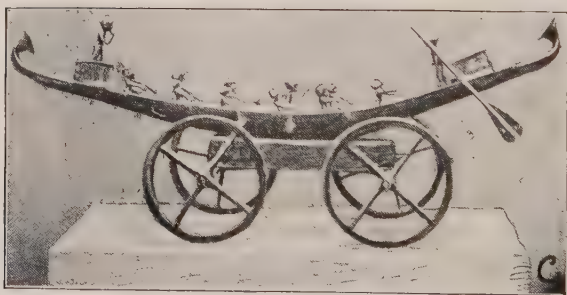
¹ See Leaf on *Il.* xxiv. 266 ff. The explanation is also given with cuts in Bayfield's *Iliad*, vol. ii. pp. 585-6.



PL. VIII.

TYPES OF ANCIENT CHARIOTS.

A.—Egyptian or Assyrian. B.—Greek. C. & D.—Mycenaean (from Gems.)



PL. IX. ANCIENT FORMS OF VESSELS.

A.—*Odysseus and the Sirens from Vase-painting.*

B.—*Model of Boat in terra-cotta found in Cyprus, showing ἱστοδόκη.*

C.—*Gold Model of Boat found in Egypt, showing use of paddle.*

one sail, though the plural form is generally used. The ships had not even a fixed rudder, but used a hand-paddle (πηδάλιον¹) for steering, and consequently they could only sail before the wind, so that 'making points,' and much more 'tacking,' was out of the question. Under these circumstances we shall not be surprised that a long voyage was a very adventurous undertaking. The great thing was never to lose sight of land, and at the first signal of bad weather or an adverse wind they at once put in to shore to wait for better luck. They could row moderate distances provided the wind was not strong against them, in which case they were completely at its mercy. We read that both Odysseus and Menelaus were driven past Cape Malea (the south-east point of the Peloponnese)—with the result, which seemed to them quite natural, that they were driven right across the Mediterranean, one of them to the coast of Libya, and the other to Crete and so later to Egypt.

We read that a distance of about two hundred miles could be traversed in three days, which would imply fair wind and weather. The Achæans frequently sailed by night, but this was where it was necessary to avail themselves of a special breeze. Otherwise, when at all possible, they put in to the land to bivouac. The ship was sometimes beached; at other times sleeping-stones (εὔναι) were let out from the bow, to serve as an anchor,² and stern hawsers (πρυμνήσια) were made fast to the land by rocks, trees, or pegs driven down for the purpose. The mast was a movable one, and could be let down into a sort of crutch in the stern (ιστοδόκη). Its base was in a three-sided frame (ιστοπέδη);³ it was supported by stays fore and aft (πρότονοι, ἐπίτονοι). The mast was

¹ It is also called οἶήιον, or perhaps this is the handle only. It is possible that it worked on a peg, which would give more purchase.

² In the Arran Islands, on the west coast of Galway, stone anchors, which act by weight only, are still in use.

³ According to Riddell, μεσόδμη is another name for this, but the exact meaning of this last is very uncertain. See exhaustive appendix entitled 'The Homeric Ship,' Riddell, *Odyssey*, i.-xii. p. 537 ff.

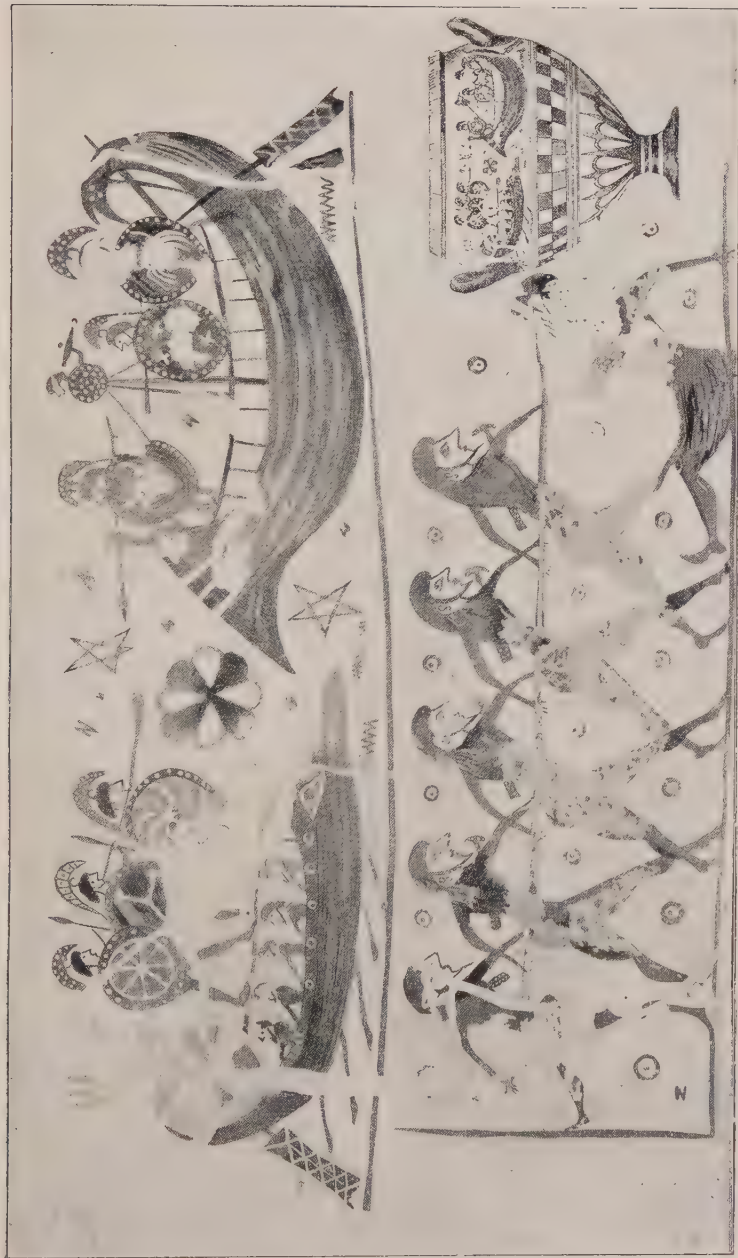
usually made of fir, as also the oars. These worked in leathern loops which were passed through holes in the gunwale, a system still said to prevail with Greek boatmen.¹ The oars must have been very broad in the blade, as they are likened to a winnowing-shovel. This may help to account for the difficulty they experienced in rowing against the wind.

We have in the fifth book of the *Odyssey* (243-255), a very elaborate account of the building of a craft by Odysseus, and though the point has been controverted,² we incline to believe that the poet is describing the ordinary work of the ship-wright, for on the whole so many technical terms are introduced that it seems less natural to understand the whole operation as the putting together of an emergency raft. The arguments, however, for the contrary view have been very clearly and forcibly stated by Dr. Warren, the Head Master of Eton, in an article "On the Raft of Ulysses."³

¹ Col. Leake's *Attica*, p. 139, quoted by Riddell on *Od.* iv. 782

² The term used is *σχεδία*, and this word from its use in later authors might appear to indicate a raft rather than a true ship. But it does not necessarily follow that the elaborate description given by the poet would not apply to ordinary ship-building.

³ *J.H.S.*, vol. v., p. 209. Dr. Warre is followed by Butcher and Lang in their translation of the *Odyssey*. For the view we have adopted see Riddell, *Odyssey*, i.-xii. Excursus, p. 557.



Pl. X.

OBVERSE--ANCIENT SEA-FIGHT FROM DECKED VESSELS.

(Vase found at Carr in Etruria, probably of the 7th century, B.C.)

Reverse--The Blinding of the Cyclops.



PL. XI.

GREEK CHARIOT OF LATER DATE.

(From *Vase-painting* - Gerhard. A. V, iv, 249.)

CHAPTER V

Who were the Homeric
People?

§ 1. The Problem Stated

IN the preceding Chapter we have endeavoured to bring together the more important elements of human society which are portrayed in Homer, but without attempting to prejudice the grand question whether this picture is an imaginary one, or what sort of basis it may have in the facts of real life. In this Chapter we shall deal with this question, or at least with a new set of considerations which seem to bear most strongly upon it.

It is possible that an objection might be made here which, though not of great importance, may yet be briefly stated. It might be urged that we read the poems as literature, and that from such a point of view it matters very little whether they are true or not as history, for Aristotle says *σπουδαίστερον ποιήσιν ιστορίας εἶναι*. And is there not a real danger that we shall spoil the effect of supreme poetry if we treat it as the dry bones of history are apt to be treated?

No doubt there is a danger, if people get absorbed in scientific and especially in speculative questions relating to the poems, of their forgetting that they are dealing with literature and with literature which is unique. But on the other hand it is part of the distinction of Homer that it has many aspects for us as it had for the Greeks themselves, and we cannot

quite dissociate its historical from its poetical worth. Its very supremacy precludes our being wholly indifferent to its real objective truth, though it warns us to cultivate a sense of proportion in conducting our investigations. And of a truth—if we do not interchange the means with the end, if we always bear in mind that the kernel is better than the husk and the spirit is more than the letter—so far from weakening our appreciation of the poetry, it will strengthen it indefinitely to ask ourselves, and to take some trouble about the answer, what the poems are about and who were the people who made them?

And for ourselves, as we are writing for the Homeric student, and not for the mere casual reader of the poetry, we should consider that our task was poorly attempted did we fail to bring forward the new data of this question. which modern archæological science has collected for judging not merely as to the objective reality of the Homeric people, but also in some sense as to their identity. But the questions we have again to raise are thorny ones, not less difficult than those which we have already tried to deal with relating to the authorship of the poems, and to the time and place of their composition. There are still before us questions which can be asked more easily than answered; nor do we dream for a moment that we can give a final, perhaps hardly a tolerable, solution to all such problems. But we shall think we have done something for the student of Homer if we state the difficulties fairly and squarely, and at the same time help him to understand the bearing of modern archæology upon them, and perhaps put him in a position to form some provisional judgments of his own.

What would be best of all (and would it were not beyond our power) would be to stimulate him with a desire to carry on the search for himself, and to show him, at least, the direction in which he should look for clearer light.

In order to approach the subject from the new point

of view, we may first try to realize the old one. We may put ourselves for a moment in the position of those who had no help from archæology because the spade of the excavator had not, as yet, been put to its task. We shall not have to travel back so many years in order to find ourselves in a sort of dark, prehistoric age, typical of the Homeric age as it then presented itself to our minds. Nothing could be more Cimmerian, more mysterious. It was the fashion to treat of Homeric times and Homeric people as something wholly mythical, unintelligible and unreal. So that there was a strange and startling opposition assumed to exist between the Hellenic era and the so-called mythical age, which was supposed to have got there somehow, but nobody knew how—nor did it betoken a well-regulated mind to be disposed to enquire!

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that by the Hellenic period is meant the later so-called historical age of Greece when her people not only had a common name but a common consciousness of their national unity. The beginnings of this period are sometimes dark, but the haze is never impenetrable. The date usually assumed for its commencement is that of the First Olympiad, 776 B.C. Without emphasising the exactness of the Olympian chronology,¹ surely we may fairly state that from the eighth century B.C. onwards, we find ourselves on safe ground when dealing with the history of a united Hellas. For instance, there were the poems of Hesiod, of whom we know at least some leading facts about his parentage, birth, and life. There is no practical doubt about the authenticity of some of his extant works, nor that they were written by him hardly later than the eighth century. Hesiod was a Bœotian, but Professor Bury has warned us, wisely, that the early history of Hellas belongs far more to the Islands and eastern coast of the Ægean

¹ Seriously attacked by Professor Mahaffy, see *Problems of Greek History* (Appendix).

than to what we, judging by later times, are accustomed to think of as Greece. In Ionia, then, somewhat later than the age of Hesiod, important literature took its rise, some of which has come down to us though the best has perished; but in any case we know a good deal historically about these schools and their leaders, the early poets and prose writers of Lesbos, Ionia and Greece generally. And what is true of the literary, is more or less so of the political, history of these ages. We know something, at least in outline, of their aristocratical spirit, their revolutions, above all their colonising activity. The picture of all this may be imperfect, sometimes hazy, but it is never unreal. Even the early chronicles of important cities like Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, Syracuse, and Cyrene, from what is sometimes called the dawn of history onwards, are known to us, and not perhaps with less particularity than we might reasonably expect in the case of first beginnings.

But now we come to what is peculiar. The importance of the so-called **Legendary Period** was not overlooked, but historians treated of it in a most indecisive manner. Certain salient facts were taken for granted. Immediately before the dawn of history it

**The so-called
Legendary
period.**

was understood there had been a dark period owing to the descent of the Dorian tribes from the North of Greece. They had found a more advanced civilisation than anything they knew of and had indeed destroyed it. Of that early pre-historic age there were still certain vestiges to be seen above the face of the earth—remains of huge ruined structures of somewhat uncouth aspect, said to be the work of the Cyclopes, mythological monsters born of ignorance and child-like awe. Yet certain relics of art could be discerned, as in the Lion Gate of which the upper portion still remained in view and had been described by many an admiring traveller. And the literature, especially the poetry, of all the Greeks teemed with allusions to this queer pre-historic age, to the expeditions and wars of its heroes, many of whom had been worshipped

as demi-gods. But whatever history there was in it was so embedded in a mass of impossible legends and fantastical folk-lore, that there seemed little prospect of extricating the truth. One school of historians, represented by Grote, frankly rejected all the legends as hopeless; others, as Thirlwall, maintained that they contained a kernel of truth, but what that was they hardly dared to define. Nor was this view of early Greek history due to any peculiar twist of the modern mind in the Victorian Era. It has always prevailed because it was very much the view of the Greeks themselves in Hellenic times. They had gone through a dark time, a time of general disturbance and upheaval, during which some of the various tribes had been ejected forcibly from their ancient seats by strangers who, though of kindred blood, had dispossessed them of their inheritance and entered into it themselves. The old order had broken up, old ties had been severed, and as this period of change had lasted for many generations at least, it was no great wonder if they had lost all clear remembrance of the past, or anything, except that it had been a grand one. Therefore, whatever was known in pre-archæological days of early Greek history was so hazy and uncertain, so mixed up with legendary lore and vague hypothesis as to be quite unsatisfying to the inquisitive.

And we could not help enquiring. Out of the dim shadowy haze one great fact emerged: the Homeric

**Yet the Poems
existed—where
did they come
from?**

poems were there and had to be accounted for. It is true they were the subject of many an 'obstinate questioning,' but in spite of it all, one thing could not be questioned—they existed, these superb masterpieces of human utterance. And in a way they seemed to tell their own story. There was a sort of convincingness about them which it was hard to get over, though harder still to define. The rape of Helen, the siege of Troy, the swift-footed Achæan hero, Hector and Andromache, and Priam and Cassandra, Odysseus and his home in Ithaca, with Penelope and

the suitors and Telemachus seeking his much-afflicted father—all this or much of it we could easily believe to be fiction, but the setting of the poems is so real, so life-like, so absorbing, especially to those who reflect that here, as far as we can tell, we are gazing at European civilisation in its cradle. The study of origins is to us moderns always interesting, and our own the most. Introspection is, perhaps, our bane ; but the study of Homer, while it touches us closely, has also a cure for this very malady, for the intensity of Homeric realism has a charm to steal us away from our own surroundings into a past which veritably throbs with life.

And no ordinary life. The picture presented to us of the Homeric heroes and their surroundings is not merely vivid and complete ; it is grand, though with a grandeur which is homely and simple. Hence the fascination which we find in the subject of the poems as distinct from the poems themselves. It may be that this effect is due to the art of the bards which well knew how to efface itself in order to ravish the listener the more. But allowing much to the power of art, the mind was not yet satisfied. We have said the poems seemed to carry with them their own evidence that they were not undiluted fiction, but contained at least an element of objective perhaps traditional truth. It was a beautiful world they told of, and yet it was a world apart. Agamemnon in the field and Achilles in his tent ; Priam in his palace ; Odysseus in his travels ; Alcinous with his retainers and Arete with her daughter ; Penelope and Telemachus in the midst of the wicked suitors, and the old swineherd and the faithful nurse ; the very shades of the Dead beyond the streams of Oceanus—how could the bards describe all these wonders if they had not lived in a world of their own, or at least acquired the knowledge of it from their immediate predecessors ? The gorgeous palaces of the kings, with their walls of bronze, their gold and silver ewers and basins, and their carven bedsteads and chairs of state and footstools ; and all the glittering raiment and the golden-studded sceptres and golden-hilted swords and silvern anklebands and

the ivory and amber and inlaid metal work, and the iron-axled chariots with eight spokes to the wheel, and the crimson-cheeked ships and the fair-cheeked maidens, and the stateliness and grace amid the splendour of it all—why should we obstinately refuse to believe that these bards knew more than we—that they had seen the vision with their mortal eye before they took the brush in hand to paint the picture?

An impression is one thing, science is another; and science alone could justify us in a determination to

Could we not
pierce the veil
and see the
vision?

believe in the objectivity of the Homeric vision. But science has unlocked many a mystery of our own life. Could it do nothing to remove this impenetrable veil which hid from us at once the life

of Homer and the beginning of European history? Our position in pre-archæological days was not unlike that of the simple folk who gazed on the marble or sandstone fossils in days before science had unfolded for mankind the record of the rocks. These things looked like the relics of once living organisms—but when and how did they get into their stony existence? Much could be surmised, and many strange things were believed. One thing was certain—that is, that the fossils did exist in the rocks, just as did the Homeric poems, with their story of the kings in their palaces, and the simple folk eating and drinking and pouring out libations to the gods and loving and fighting and dying and being buried. After all, was it not excusable to ask what is the secret of it all?

Archæology had already, even in the early nineteenth century, done much for another literature of even a higher and wider interest. All the world knew that in Egypt and the Holy Land, in Assyria and Babylon and Asia Minor, the spade had wrested from the earth many a secret which its green sod had perhaps too long kept hidden from our ken. So that the time had come when it might reasonably be hoped that on Greek soil, also, the spade would do something great for the lovers of Homer. The opportunity was not wanting—if only the man should be forthcoming.

§ 2. Triumph of the Spade

The record of Heinrich Schliemann's life reads more like romance than sober narrative. His achievements were due mainly to his own insight and dogged determination, but his good fortune, too, was surprisingly great. From his earliest years he had

**The story of
Schliemann.**

set himself the task of verifying the truth of Homer. He had neither money, friends, nor scholarship. His father was a Lutheran minister,¹ and from him in his infancy he had heard the tale of Troy; later he had a picture-book given him as a present on his seventh birthday which gave an illustration of Æneas bearing his father on his shoulders from the burning city while he led the boy Ascanius by the hand. Even then his enthusiasm was fired, and he longed to see what remained of the pictured scene. Being told the print was only imaginary he asked if the walls were ever of the size shown in the book, and getting an affirmative answer he cried, "Then there must be something remaining of them: I shall go and find it."

After nearly half a century his childish enthusiasm remained, and if it led him into many errors for which he sometimes incurred the ridicule of the learned, it also made him the founder of a new era in scholarship.

We cannot trace his early years, during which he was amid great difficulties preparing himself for his life-work. The first step towards carrying it out was to learn Greek, and his circumstances did not allow of his commencing the subject till he was beyond thirty-five years of age. For he had commenced his career as a humble shop-boy, selling across the counter sugar, herrings, and tallow-candles. At this very time we are told that he once exhausted his slender store of pocket

¹ Young Schliemann was born in Mecklenburg in 1822. He died in 1890.



PL. XII.

THE LION GATE, MYCENÆ.
(As excavated by Schliemann in 1876.)



money in bribing a miller's man, who had come into the shop, and who had had some classical education, to recite to him three times about one hundred lines of Homer which he knew by heart. The young shop-boy could not understand a word, but he was so moved at hearing the lines that lamenting his own state of ignorance he burst into bitter tears.

The first requirement, therefore, towards his projected excavations was to make money. To this end he would now devote himself, and thus later on he would have the wherewithal for his work. So it turned out that in after years, when he had become a merchant-prince and had amassed a colossal fortune, his ideals remained unchanged. And as he remained constant to his early enthusiasm, so Fortune, usually so fickle, remained constant to him.

There were two cardinal points in Schliemann's Homeric faith, both of which he held in contradiction

**Troy and
Mycenæ.**

to the views prevailing among the learned. One was that the Troy of the *Iliad* was on the site of the modern Hissarlik, the hill on which the more recent town of Ilium had been built; whereas the majority of modern scholars located it (if anywhere) at Bunárbashi, a higher elevation to the south-east, and a spur of the celebrated Ida range of mountains. His other obstinate conviction was that the historian Pausanias was right in declaring that Agamemnon had been buried at Mycenæ, within the walls of the city Acropolis—in regard to which he again ran counter to modern critics of the text.

But he would appeal to the evidence which lay beneath the green turf, and there his faith was abundantly vindicated. As to Hissarlik, the world has long been convinced that Schliemann was right; and on the Acropolis of Mycenæ he discovered the Shaft-graves, making one of the most remarkable finds in history. It does not follow that because some of his views have been since corrected our debt to the man is less. We must not estimate his work merely by its material success (which was, indeed, stranger than

2.3.
-d. Nannica

2.3. mng Tr

a dream) but rather by the impetus he gave to the science of archæology, and above all to the study of pre-historic Greece.

As science progresses, its conclusions tend to become more and more unified; in regard to early chronology the Egyptian tombs and inscriptions supply us with data by which we can sometimes fix it within limits of moderate variation. Our knowledge of what is usually called Mycenæan culture starts¹ from Schliemann's finds at Troy (1870-3) and Mycenæ (1876); but it has been largely reinforced by new explorations not merely in Greece and the Ægean, but elsewhere. It will be appropriate here to give a brief account of some of these excavations and their results.

Schliemann's diggings at Hissarlik brought him face to face with seven distinct layers of human remains which he named the seven cities of Troy. The

**The so-called
Mycenæan city
of Troy.**

second lowest gave signs of great wealth and a certain grandeur: it also had evidently been destroyed by fire. Accordingly he naturally identified it with the city of the *Iliad*, Priam's Troy. However, in this he was soon proved to be wrong; for it became known that the style of this city and its contents betrayed a far earlier date than the supposed date of the Trojan War.² Later the mystery was solved partly by Schliemann in the very year of his death (1890), and more fully by Professor W. Dörpfeld, who completed the investigations which he published, first in the year 1893, and again in a monumental form in the year 1902. After the great fortresses of the Argive Plain, which we are next to describe, had been discovered, and principally by means of pottery and its development, some knowledge of (relative) chronology had become possible, and the result of the new investigations

¹ We do not mean to deny that any traces of the Mycenæans had come to light, for under Ruskin important finds had been made at Ialysus in Rhodes. But they were practically neglected before Schliemann's discoveries.

² See Percy Gardner's *New Chapters of Greek History*, which appeared before Dörpfeld's *Troja*.

established almost the certainty that the supposed city of Priam had been post-dated by Schliemann by about one thousand years. It was found that a much later city (the sixth of Schliemann's series) had really corresponded with the age of Mycenæ; for it contained true Mycenæan vases, and even its very structure, which was of huge blocks of stone, was found to correspond with the Argive work. Its centre had entirely disappeared owing to a later levelling process; the walls, however, which had covered fully twice the extent of the second city (which had been built of brick) were sufficient to prove the theory now propounded. Dörpfeld has indeed pointed out several technical points in which the walls he disclosed betray non-Mycenæan—as he believes, Phrygian—influences. He also holds that in all probability the Mycenæan objects had been imported from the opposite mainland or the Ægean islands. These are, however, details which we need not enter into. For it is enough to know that, although Schliemann's first impressions were not exactly confirmed by later and more scientific explorations; yet upon Hissarlik, the site he chose for his earliest efforts at illustrating the scene of the *Iliad*, a comparatively large and splendidly-built city has been discovered which certainly synchronizes with the supposed date of the Trojan War.

There is a certain interest attaching to the discoveries at Troy on account of their direct connection with

**Great Argive
Fortresses.**

Homer, but their scientific import is less perhaps than that of the later discoveries at Tiryns and Mycenæ. The existence of important pre-historic fortresses at both these sites was always understood, but Schliemann was the first, by exploring them, to reveal at once their contents and their significance. Tiryns was not finally excavated till 1884, or eight years after the celebrated find of the shaft-graves at Mycenæ, which occurred in 1876; but as the Tiryns fortress is both the older and better preserved of the two, we may take it first, following the example of many other writers. It is built close to the sea on a low hill of nearly a hundred

feet high; and is of smaller dimensions than the later fortress, which is built upon a much higher eminence nearly half-way across the mountain belt which separates the gulf of Argos from that of Corinth—so that it commands an important pass between two seas.¹

From these facts Schuchhardt, who believed that Mycenæan culture centred in the islands of the Ægean, argued that it was spreading towards the west at the time these sites were occupied. The traces of several pre-historic roads from Mycenæ to Corinth confirms this view, and it gives a special point to the prominence of Ithaca as the home of one of the great Achæan chiefs. The fortress of Tiryns is built on a lime-stone ridge, which is but little less in area than the Athenian Acropolis (though of much lower elevation);² being over three hundred yards in length. It has various terraces with circumvallation, the highest containing merely the royal palace. The walls, which at one point are still standing to a height of twenty-four feet, are of enormous strength, varying in thickness from sixteen to fifty-seven feet, and are built of huge blocks of stone, roughly worked, some of them measuring over ten feet in length by a yard square. They contain, moreover, a very remarkable feature in the galleries which are built in the width of the wall with great stones overlapping and meeting at the top so as to form a sort of improper arch. There is a tradition that Tiryns was fortified by Lycians, and this would be an interesting confirmation of the theory that the Mycenæan culture was passing from east towards west. A marked similarity, moreover, has been traced between the structure of the galleries and certain Phœnician work which has been discovered in North Africa; we are still in doubt

¹ See plan below, p. 279.

² The Athenian Acropolis was also fortified in Mycenæan times, and portions of the primitive walls are still remaining; see plan in *Ancient Athens*, by Harrison and Verrall.

³ The object of the galleries is disputed. As their exterior walls are pierced it was long thought they were for purposes of defence, but this is denied by Dörpfeld and others.

whether one was a copy of the other, or whether both were originally derived from a common model.

The great feature of Tiryns is of course the Palace on the topmost plateau of the citadel. It is excellently preserved, at least as to its foundations and lower courses; its relation to the Homeric house has been the subject of much controversy which we omit for the present.

The fortress of Mycenæ, which is considerably larger, differs from Tiryns not merely in being later as a whole, but also as containing much more indication of a long period of habitation, and of successive styles of building. When it was first built, Tiryns may have been already falling into decay, or at least decadence; on the other hand its own importance continued quite late into what we may now call, in a wide sense, the Mycenæan Age.

The glorious Gate of Lions is too well-known to need a lengthened description here, and we need only say that it is part of a later addition to the walls, probably belonging to the same date as the Tholos or Bee-hive tombs, which represent the widest diffused and most developed phase of Mycenæan art.

It will be suitable here to give a passing notice of a third fortress of the same general era, though it is some distance to the north of Argolis, namely, that of Gha, or Gla, on the north-east shore of Lake Copais in Bœotia. Being an island surrounded by cliffs, it is a natural strong-hold, but its fortifications are remarkable for their extent, as they enclose a space fully ten times the size of Tiryns. An attempt has been made to identify the place with "Ἄργη,"¹ a Bœotian town, but this appears speculative. The fortress is supposed to have been the work of the Minyæ, who also built the celebrated Orchomenus on the opposite side of the lake. Gha contains a palace which is, in some important respects, quite unlike the Argive or Trojan ones.

If the importance of Tiryns lies in its fortress and

¹ Mentioned in the *Iliad* ii., 507, and called πολυστάφυλος.

the royal dwelling-place, that of Mycenæ lies in its dwelling-places of the dead. There are

**The Shaft and
Tholos-tombs
of Mycenæ.**

two classes of tombs very distinct in age and character, and it will be useful here to give a brief description of both.

The Shaft-tombs are inside the acropolis walls, surrounded by a double ring of upright stones about which there are several conflicting theories. The graves when unearthed were covered with a mound of earth, so that possibly the ring stones were placed to help to keep it together. They are six in number, cut down, like the smaller and much earlier narrow cist graves,¹ into the living rock, but utterly unlike them in their dimensions. They are very spacious, varying from ten to over twenty feet in length, and nearly square in shape. Over the graves were found memorial stones standing erect (*στήλαι*), covered, of course, by the superincumbent mound of earth. Their average height is five feet, and their breadth over three. Only three of these were sculptured, but the work on them, though rude, is spirited. In each of the three a chariot is depicted, probably with the intention of representing battle scenes, although the meaning is imperfectly brought out. (See Pl. xxi. p. 286.)

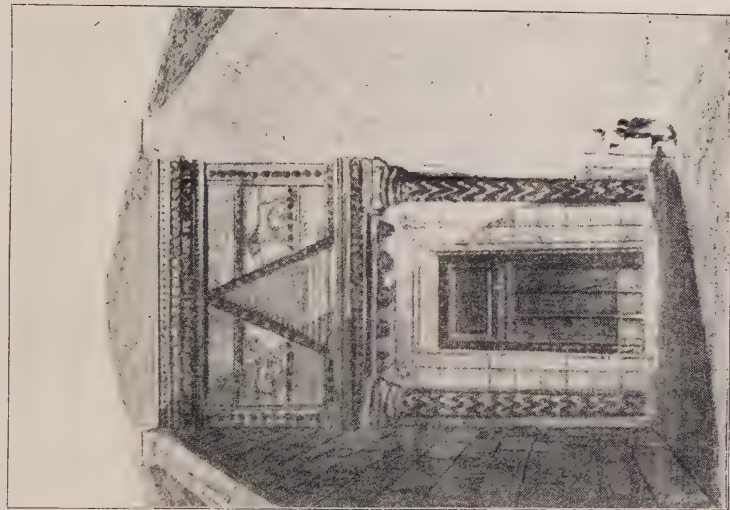
Another very important feature was a circular altar built with stones laid horizontally. It was immediately over one of the graves, about three feet from the top, and certainly points to a sacrificial cult of the dead. A similar sort of structure was found at Tiryns in the chief court-yard of the palace, where, however, there is no positive reason for supposing the existence of a grave.

But the chief interest in the shaft-graves was in their contents. They had never been rifled, and the wealth of objects they contained almost baffles our imagination. The number of corpses in each grave varied from one to five, and every one of them was supplied with an immense profusion of ornaments, and

¹ Sometimes called Cycladic, because they are characteristic of Thera, Melos, Amorgos and others of the Cyclades.



(*Present Condition.*)



(*Supposed Restoration.*)



in the case of the men of weapons. For instance, one grave alone contained no less than sixty swords and daggers; another grave, in which women only were buried, contained six diadems, fifteen pendants, eleven neck-coils, eight hair-ornaments (including gold comb with bone teeth), ten gold grass-hoppers¹ with gold chains, one butterfly, four griffins, four lions, ten ornaments (each consisting of two stags), ten with lions (in each case two lions attacking an ox), three fine intaglios, two pairs of gold scales, fifty-one embossed ornaments, and more than seven hundred ornaments for attaching to clothes! These were among the treasures of gold, but in addition there were objects of silver, or silver plated with gold, also bronze, and last, but not least, beads cut from amber.

The Tholos-tombs are quite different, being stately structures, with central chamber, domed (whence the name), and possessing a very elaborate vestibule with beautiful façade. As these tombs had been ransacked,² perhaps at a quite early date, they did not yield a rich harvest of contents like the shaft-graves, which were of a decidedly earlier date. So their importance consists in their structure and architectural features, which in many instances have been wonderfully well preserved. A similar tholos-tomb at Orchomenus, of much the same date and style as the best at Mycenæ, contained the fallen blocks belonging to a very beautifully carved stone ceiling, thus adding an important testimony to the original grandeur of these chambers of the dead.

The work done in Cyprus since the British annexation, of which the results were published in 1890, must have a passing mention. Many causes combine to make the archæology of this enchanting island important; but it is also very complicated, and it will be

Excavations in Cyprus.

¹ According to Schuchhardt.

² These tombs were known as Treasuries, and for long there was much uncertainty as to their true character, but the question is no longer debated.

possible here only to draw attention to certain conclusions which vitally affect our judgments as to the Mycenæan culture generally. I have the authority of Mr. Myres, who was himself present in 1894 during part of the excavations, for saying that the tendencies of recent years favour the view that long before Phœnician inscriptions occur in Cyprus the Ægean people had free access to the island as to the Levant generally, and that they were even sending colonies to Cyprus. On the other hand, we do not find the art products in the earliest period at all equal to those of the eastern Ægean in point of technique. Cyprus was, therefore, in the early period (to a great extent) independent both of Semitic and of Mycenæan influence. But later it fell under strong Mycenæan influence. This can be proved, among other things, by the excavations made at Enkômi (near Salamis), where the most important find of Mycenæan objects, since the opening of the shaft-graves in 1876, was made. The things are in the British Museum, and it is difficult to understand how anyone who has even cursorily examined the gems and pottery, to say nothing of the ivory work including a very elaborate draft-box exquisitely carved in true Mycenæan style, could entertain a doubt that they belong to the same school, and generally speaking to the same era, as the objects which are admittedly Mycenæan.¹

There is, however, considerable evidence that, as in the island of Ægina, so in Cyprus, when the rest of the Mycenæan world was wrecked by the incursions of the Dorians, the Mycenæan school of art lingered on, though in a somewhat decadent form.

We now come to our own day, and strange as was the triumph of the spade in the past, we shall see that it has been equalled, if not surpassed, by the recent

¹ It is perhaps only right to state that the late lamented Mr. A. S. Murray, who was in charge of the excavations, tenaciously maintained a late date for the Enkomi finds (though without denying their Mycenæan character), but he was misled by preconceived views which have never made many adherents and have now practically died out.

**Importance of
late discoveries
in Crete.**

astounding discoveries made in Crete. It is no exaggeration to say that on the shoulders of Dr. A. J. Evans, the mantle of the great German explorer has worthily fallen. After the surprises of the last generation our capacity for wonder at the revelations of archæology had become somewhat impaired. Schliemann had this advantage that he was a pioneer. The field he tilled was, practically speaking, virgin soil—and indeed he may be said to have opened up a new chapter in European history. Since his time a new science had come into being, which consisted of the careful recording and interpreting of all archæological facts which could bear upon what had come to be called the Mycenæan Era. And so just at the end of the nineteenth century we had laboriously arrived at the point of getting a tolerably clear view of what Mycenæan culture meant in many of its aspects (including the important ones of its distribution in time and space), and some dim prognostications of its origin were beginning to dawn upon our minds. The new excavations, however, have changed all that, they have cleared up so many difficulties.

Dr. Evans had been of opinion that until the island of Crete should be asked to deliver up its secrets regarding the pre-historic culture of Hellas, “the spring was taken out of the year.” And this dictum has proved to be prophetic in more ways than one. The results of his researches at Knossus are so momentous that it may be rash to state what is most important about them; but what appears specially illuminating is the way that they take us back to a far earlier point than we could have had any idea of for the origin of *Ægean* culture, and that in an unbroken line of development with the Mycenæan civilisation. What had previously appeared to be very early, and at the same time in some way unaccountable, if not spasmodic, now turns out to be a comparatively late, or almost (as Dr. Evans seems to think) a decadent development of an *Ægean* culture which had not only sprung up in Crete, but had attained there a truly giant growth,

at least far back in the Third Millenium before the Christian Era !

Hence we may consider that Schliemann's work directly paved the way for that of Evans, at least in the sense that the Cretan discoveries have for us at the commencement of the twentieth century, a far higher interest and a more connected meaning than they could have possessed had they not been preceded by knowledge gradually gained since the starting point of a generation ago. These preliminary remarks will perhaps be our apology (if one seems to be needed) for laying before the Homeric student a somewhat fuller account of the Knossian excavations than might appear to be necessary for him. We shall confine ourselves to Knossus, though the work there has been preceded or accompanied by other excavations in various centres of the east of Crete, the Dictæan Cave, Præsus, Palæokastro, Zakro—and especially at Phæstus and Hagia Triada, where important palaces have been laid open by the Italian mission; and also outside of the palace area at Knossus, where Mr. Hogarth, Director of the British School of Athens, has been engaged.

Up to the date of writing five campaigns have been completed at Knossus, four of which have been published by Dr. Evans in the *Annual of the British School*, in articles which are models of lucid exposition, richly enhanced by excellent plans, elevations, photographs, and coloured drawings.¹

**Excavations of
Dr. A. J. Evans
at Knossus.**

The first excavation was in 1900, which though it revealed only about half the palace area, gave us a

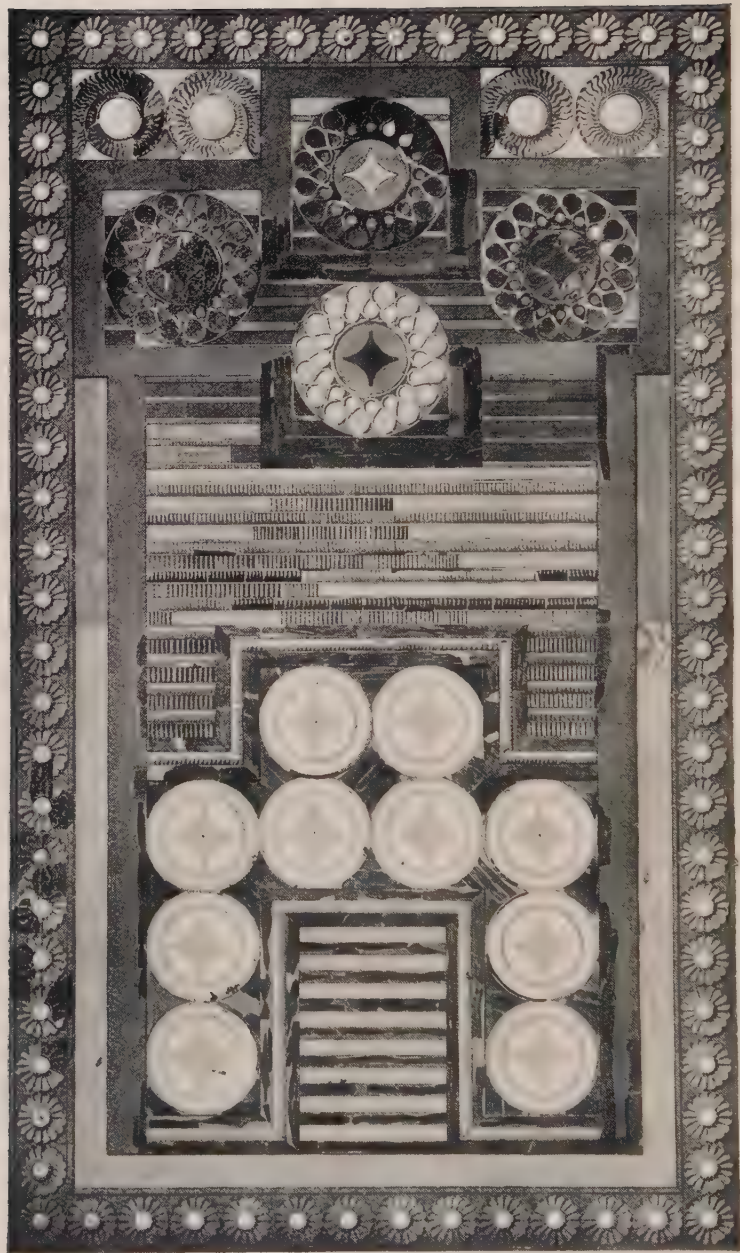
¹ These *Annual Reports* are merely preliminary to a fuller publication which will follow later. I must express my thanks to Dr. Evans and his publishers (Messrs. Macmillan & Co.) for allowing me to anticipate the coming work by reproducing here two very important photographs illustrative of Minœan civilisation. (See Pls. xv. and xvi.) The Royal Gaming Board, which is almost a yard long, must have been a magnificent piece of work. It is a mosaic of gold-plated ivory, rock-crystal, and artificial lapis lazuli (cyanos), with silver plaques in some cases behind the crystal, the whole set in a frame of gold. Subsequently certain pieces like chess-men were found which appeared to fit the larger circles.



PL. XV.

THEATRICAL AREA AT KNOSSUS—Partially Restored.

(Excavated by Dr. A. J. Evans, 1903.)



Pl. XVI.

INLAID ROYAL GAMING BOARD—Restored.

(Found in the Palace at Knossos, 1902.)

very good knowledge of its character and that of the life which it once enshrined. Yet the discoveries have since proceeded along an ascending scale of interest, at least for the three following years of 1901, 1902, and 1903.¹

We may give a brief outline of some of the leading features of the several excavations, beginning with those of the first year. Very near the surface the ruins were discovered on the whole in excellent preservation. The ground plan of the palace is remarkable for the multiplicity of its walls and chambers. As it afterwards turned out, this is due to the fact that it was a sort of basement story—the larger apartments being mostly in the superstructure. But on this ground floor a very beautiful audience chamber was found, with gypsum throne in position, flanked by stone seats on either side, and an entrance hall as well as other rooms containing consecrated pillars, with a ritual significance; also near this an apartment for (apparently) ritual ablutions. The remains of beautiful frescoes and plaster reliefs came to light, giving proof of artistic power far beyond anything we could have had the least idea of at this epoch. There were also rows of long magazines² all opening off a long gallery, containing huge earthen jars, some of them nearly five feet in height, and beneath them rows of sunken cavities which had, however, been very well rifled of their contents. A handsome portico, with long and highly ornamental corridors, had given access to this which was only one particular section of the palace. Already it appeared how far larger and grander the whole design was than the palaces which had been previously discovered as already described.

The following year (1901) was remarkable for the opening up of the other side of the building on the east.

¹ The campaign of last year (1904) has not yet been fully published, but we learn that its results were by no means barren, and the discoveries were such as to render necessary at least another dig in the coming season.

² Afterwards discovered to be eighteen in number. Other magazines of importance were found later elsewhere, though not on quite such a large scale.

For there had been a large central court which had been originally mistaken for an outside boundary on the eastern side. And in many respects this was the more interesting region and better preserved than the western side. For under part of it, where the ground sloped away and the clay had been further cut into, was found not merely a complete under story, but the remains of a quadruple staircase giving access, first to the second story and then to a third, of which latter even some of the flooring was actually in position and more (which had fallen) was easily replaced. This feature of the palace was confirmed later by a find of pictured tiles representing a whole series of three-storied houses, which appeared to belong to a street of the out-lying town.

Now there came to light fresh treasures of pottery, especially in the beautiful polychrome style,¹ which is quite distinct from the Mycenæan, and indeed much earlier. Its ornament is geometrical rather than naturalistic, but not in the least like the more commonly known and somewhat debased geometric ware of the Dark Age. One marked peculiarity of this early fabric is its extreme delicacy of shape, being often of egg-shell fineness and imitating both the forms and sometimes the ornament of metal ware. The importance of this Minôan pottery (in addition to its intrinsic beauty) is, that in many cases it has given invaluable aid for fixing at least relative chronology, to which subject we shall return again.

In 1902 new discoveries of great moment were made, including that of the domestic quarter of the palace, with the Queen's Megaron, and a large suite of private apartments containing a special and private staircase of their own, which was well preserved. One of the curious features of this excavation was a very large and elaborate system of drainage, including house-sanitation on thoroughly modern principles. A small shrine, with many of the accessories of worship of the Double Axe sacred to the Carian and Cretan Zeus,

¹ Some instances of this style had been unearthed at Knossus in 1900 and at least as early at Phæstus.

came to light; also proofs of great antiquity in important contacts with the early Egyptian Dynasties.

In some respects the finds of 1903 were even more remarkable. Among these was a royal villa just outside the *enceinte* of the palace proper, containing a second throne and architectural features specially well preserved, and gorgeous examples were found, for the first time, of the Cretan bronze ware in the shape of bowls and ewer. It was known that something of the sort must have existed, but such treasures had been hitherto conspicuous by their absence, owing to the way the palace had been specially looted for its metal objects at the time of its sudden destruction. Everywhere the signs of this and of the attendant conflagration were at hand. Again the contents of another shrine were discovered in a different quarter from the one referred to above, among them very wonderful *faience* statuettes of a Snake-goddess and her votary. These are particularly valuable as throwing light on the Cretan cults. With regard to the latter, there is evidence that the Minôan kings had a sacred character, and were in fact priests of the cult of Zeus and of a female deity like to Rhea. Finally a very interesting stepped theatral area was uncovered (Pl. xv.) which may possibly be the dancing-ground (*χορος*) of Ariadne referred to in *Iliad* xviii. 590-2.

Dr. Evans commenced his Cretan researches with the view of confirming a belief which he (like Schliemann) had formed, namely, that there was in the Ægean area a method of writing long anterior to that Phœnician script from which our own alphabet is derived through the Greek and Roman.

**Discovery of
early Cretan
forms of Writing.**

In fact he did not begin with the spade—for several years he had been collecting seal-stones in the island, and the first results of his investigations were published as early as the year 1894.

But the excavations in the Knossian palace gave a far richer harvest in the form of clay tablets, to the number of over a thousand, inscribed with a linear script. These tablets have not as yet been deciphered.

but it is clear that many of them are catalogues of treasures; and the accompanying enumerations can be made out as well as in some cases the nature of the hoard from pictorial signs.

I. It has now been discovered that pictographic writing, which was not altogether unlike the Egyptian hieroglyphs, was in use among the Eteocretans, or Cretan aborigines, who lived in the eastern part of the island. It never spread beyond this very limited area, where it was developed, though it must have been originated elsewhere and have been imported. There are about eighty signs known to us, and some of them have affinities with the so-called Hittite system of writing. It was both extremely early and also lived on (in its own particular locality) long after the linear and later script had come into use.

II. The second or linear system was of much wider vogue. It is found not only through Crete, but in the islands, and (to a very limited extent as far as we know) throughout the whole Ægean area, and also in Egypt and Syria. It existed long before the Mycenæan period proper, as well as through it. About thirty-two¹ symbols of this script have been discovered, and of these fifteen are the same as the Cypriot Syllabary, from which it is pretty certain that the signs had a syllabic as distinct from an alphabetic value. This script occurs in two forms, an earlier and later. The earlier was evidently used with a hieratic import, as it occurs on buildings, whereas the latter is used for ordinary writing. Although very slight traces have as yet been found of its use in the Western Ægean and on the Greek mainland, it is difficult to suppose that the Mycenæans, who were certainly in contact with this form of writing, should not have used it much more

¹ Tsountas shows that at least six additions can be made to Dr. Evans' thirty-two Cretan symbols of similar marks on objects found in the Ægean area; and that one of these, as well as twenty of Cretan symbols, occur on Mycenæan pottery found by Flinders-Petrie in Egypt; and Evans himself points out that in Syria (Tell-el-Hessy) six of these signs were discovered by Bliss on pottery which the latter thinks is prior to 1500 B.C. (See Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, chap. xi.) }

freely than our direct evidence warrants us in asserting. A good side-light has been thrown on this question (a very interesting one for the Homeric student) by the discovery in the palace of a cup with writing inscribed on it, apparently with a pen and ink, and in a slightly more cursive style than that of the inscribed tablets where pointed instruments were used. The conclusion is that ordinary writing was in use, but that the materials (probably palm-leaves) have disappeared.

This discovery is of such vast significance for the history of Greece, and even of Europe, that if it had been made by itself it would still have marked an epoch. But coming with so many other wonders its importance is somewhat liable to be overlooked.

It will be allowed before leaving this subject to point out a few of the general results which seem to be implied in the Cretan finds. First, they afford an unlooked-for justification for many a hoary legend about which scepticism was only too natural—legends of Minos and his sea-power, the Labyrinth and its Minotaur, Theseus and the tribute of Athenian youths and maidens. We need not here follow the discoverer of the palace in all his detailed suggestions as to the way several particular legends may be accounted for in the very shape and appearance of the buildings unearthed. But it is not too much to say that the net result of Evans' work is that for the future Greek legends will be viewed with changed eyes, and that a death-blow has been dealt at the extreme scepticism which has hitherto held the field. No doubt Schliemann's discoveries had previously effected something in this direction, but his own lack of moderation and science, perhaps, tended to blur the impression which he made on the minds of his contemporaries.

Another important aspect of our new knowledge, which we alluded to already, is the high antiquity it confers on European culture. Formerly the prevailing idea was that when we had traced our ancestry through mediæval and Roman times back to the Hellenic, or at most the Homeric Era, we had reached the limit of

**Further aspects
of Cretan
discoveries.**

our genealogical record. Back of the First Millenium B.C. there was either unfathomable darkness, or if an attempt was made to pierce the gloom it was in the spirit of old Herodotus, who was quite satisfied if he thought he could trace the origins of Greek life and Greek religion in some Egyptian or Mesopotamian analogy. Then, if any further difficulty arose, we had always the Phœnicians to fall back upon; they were so ubiquitous, so preternaturally clever, and above all so indefinite as to our knowledge of their life and its origins that they could be conveniently credited with anything!

All these fallacies about the extraneous derivation of our civilisation were already being weakened by our growing knowledge of Mycenæan culture, but it did not as yet take us back so very far. Now it is no longer a question of the end of the Second Millenium B.C. At Knossus we are going back (and the evidence is daily growing more and more irresistible) right through the Second into the Third, nay very probably into the Fourth, Millenium, for the beginning of our distinct and traceable intellectual life. And what beginnings! What grandeur, what beauty, what individuality has been disclosed by the spade of the archæologist. For what is now established with regard not merely to the Mycenæan, but even more undeniably the Minôan, culture is that though it was in close, direct contact with Egypt (and this is of course the basis of the new chronology), and was strongly influenced by that contact, yet it was a thing quite apart with a strongly defined character of its own, and that it amply repaid the debt which it contracted. We shall almost directly offer a few illustrations of this statement.

But before passing on we must refer briefly to another point, and that is the possible modification of our views as to the Mycenæan period proper. Dr. Evans himself now maintains¹ that our use of the word 'Mycenæan'

¹ In a paper read before the Anthropological Section of the British Association on Aug. 23rd, 1904. (See *Times* of Aug 24th.)

requires radical revision. He proposes to call everything down to 1500 by the name of Minôan, and believes that the Mycenæan culture was in all its main features a subsidiary growth of the Minôan style when this was already in its decadence. If this is to be a discussion merely about names it is of comparatively little importance, and would be in any case out of place here. Besides, it is quite too soon to hope that we can arrive at any final conclusion on this difficult question.¹

At an opportune moment (considering the results obtained in Crete) we have now the publication, in a sumptuous volume, by the Hellenic Society of the work done by the British School at Phylâkopi.² In some very important points these excavations afford analogies, and in others contrasts with the Cretan discoveries.

Perhaps the most significant fact is that here, as in Crete, the Ægean culture can be traced, chiefly of course by means of the pottery, in an unbroken succession from the later stone age. The oldest settlements have not been, however, exhausted, as the excavations were broken off in 1899,³ to be resumed when circumstances shall allow.

¹ There has been at all times much confusion observable in the use of the term 'Mycenæan,' especially as regards the earlier stages of the culture. Some archæologists use the term proto-Mycenæan, others speaking of præ-Mycenæan, and others (as Petrie) eschew the term altogether and treat only of Ægean things. If we might presume to offer any opinion, we think it would be a pity to do away with so honoured and significant a term, though it would seemingly be desirable to have it properly defined. But certainly if it is kept it should not be restricted to the late and decadent period of the tholos-tombs, though it is true that this was the period of widest diffusion of Mycenæan art. In our Chronological Table we distinguish between Late and Early Mycenæan, which latter partly corresponds with Dr. Evans' Late Minôan. (See p. 64.)

² The book has more authority because it is the joint production of eight members of the School, several of the names being those of great authority, and they are apparently at one as to the more general conclusions, though they treat individually of separate branches of the subject.

³ They commenced in 1896.

Apart from these very primitive and partially explored strata, the remains of three distinct but superimposed cities have been excavated. Both the first and second cities ended suddenly and violently, but the character of the deposit proves that there was not any general ethnic break at any time. The second city was remarkable for being fortified, a small section of the walls being well preserved. The third city, however, which belongs to the Mycenæan age proper, shows indications of an invasion from the mainland. New rulers came who built a palace very much on the model of those of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and unlike those at Crete whether at Knossus, Phæstus or Hagia Triada. For it had a central hearth (though not apparently central pillars) and was lit from above, not by means of a light-well at the back. But the bulk of the population still lived on and in their old way. An interesting discovery was that of houses in the town with rooms containing consecrated pillars (in this case monolithic) similar to those at Knossus and other Cretan sites.

Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, who is responsible for the article on pottery, reports that the beautiful middle Minôan polychrome ware from Crete was found in the upper strata of the second city. Hence he argues that this period at Phylâkopi (allowing five centuries which he believes must be postulated for the lower deposit of the same second city) must go back to about 3000 B.C. If this can be maintained, we should have to put the first city into the Fourth Millenium, and thus Dr. Evans' chronology is likely to receive a very striking confirmation. A glance on the map will show that Phylâkopi is a most favourable port for breaking the voyage between Crete and the Greek mainland. It was also an important site on account of its obsidian supply, which was, at the early date in question, well distributed over the Mediterranean and beyond it. What gives interest to this is that no other source existed, as far as we know, in the Mediterranean. Altogether these excavations cannot but have much significance. The frescoes were of particular importance, especially on account of their striking similarity to those of Crete.

It has been assumed that there is evidence to prove that the whole system of culture which has been revealed to us within the last generation is indigenous to the Ægean, and that it is no mere offshoot of neighbouring richer civilisations. We may now consider this question somewhat more closely, especially as the contrary doctrine has not been without numerous and powerful adherents.

**In what sense is
Mycenæan
culture
indigenous?**

This is a question of prime importance, whether the Greeks were indebted to outsiders for the first beginnings of their artistic and intellectual life. It is quite a secondary though interesting discussion touching their communication with Egypt and the East—whether it existed by means of the Phœnician traders or through other channels—but if we cannot prove that the Mycenæan art was a thing by itself, that it was not a mere second-hand imitation, we need not trouble very much about it.

Now, the later Greeks themselves were prone to accentuate their debt to their neighbours. We mentioned the case of Herodotus already. The simple man had travelled in Egypt and was truly delighted when he could assure himself that he found there the explanation of what was often a dark mystery to the men of his time. We also know that Herodotus was often wrong, as when he stated that the Greeks owed their gods to Egypt. On the other hand, we have no difficulty in believing that the Greeks, even in the time of Herodotus or later, did really borrow many of their ideas and institutions from Egypt. Would it not appear absurd to attribute a degree of originality to a pre-historic age like that of the Myceræans which could not be maintained in the case of those who came long after them and entered into their inheritance?

Let us then make our position clear. There is no question whatever of denying the influence of foreign and especially Egyptian art upon the Ægean people, whether we take them in the Minœan or in the Mycenæan period. With regard to the former, there is abundant evidence of Egyptian contact and of direct

Egyptian influence not merely at Knossus and Crete generally, but in the Northern area also, though it may of course be plausibly maintained that Crete was chiefly, if not entirely, the medium of communication.¹

Very notable instances of Egyptian influence on Mycenæan art are the celebrated dagger blades of the shaft-graves at Mycenæ, and the beautiful ceiling of carved stone which we have already stated was found in the tholos-tomb at Orchomenus, previously known as the Treasury of Minyas. In both these cases very similar work is said to be familiar to Egyptologists in connection with the great outburst of magnificence after the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

And with regard to the inlay work of the dagger blades, not merely is the method Egyptian, but even the subject—in one case notably, where we have the characteristic features of a water-hunt in the midst of lotus plants in which the local cat or otter (called Ichneumon) is pursuing its winged prey, which was a recognised form of Nilotic sport. The extraordinary similarity between the Keftian processions painted on the wall-tombs of Thebes and those of the Minœan palace are of special importance, but the subject will recur in the following Section when we deal directly with the question of chronology.

It is very remarkable that in point of fact in the later Mycenæan period the foreign influence was more strongly marked than in the Minœan period, but even then there can be no doubt whatever that at Knossus and elsewhere the artists must have been well acquainted with Egyptian methods of decoration.

What, then, becomes of the claim of Mycenæan art to originality; or, as we have expressed it, to be an indigenous and not a borrowed style?

¹ It would be beyond our scope to consider the question raised by Mr. H. R. Hall in the *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, whether the Cretans communicated with Egypt by sea direct to the African coast, or (as Mr. Hall maintains) by the coast line of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the Levant. In a later article in the *Annual* (B.S.A.) No. viii., he has somewhat modified his attitude on this question.

The answer is plain. Art is original not because it does not borrow, but because it borrows intelligently. Slavish imitation can never be original. Mycenæan art was creative, and none the less so because it made use of all the aids which it found to its hand. No great school of art ever disdained to borrow. Mycenæan art borrowed dead forms and put into them the breath of life and was therefore great. It was great in itself, and great because it had within it the potency of the later schools of that Hellas, which we have seen was never too proud to acknowledge but was rather inclined to exaggerate her debt to foreign culture.

The full realization of this truth regarding Ægean art could only be gained by familiarity with Minôan and Mycenæan objects, and their general contrast with Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phœnician forms. Fortunately in many published works easily accessible¹ there is ample material for making the comparison, though of course visits to the Museum collections would be still better. What is remarkable is, that often where we least expect it, we can recognise the Mycenæan spirit most strongly expressed. For instance, the extraordinary life and vigour of the lion-hunt on the otherwise Egyptian dagger blade is a clear indication that the Mycenæan metal-worker was no servile copyist but a true artist, with his mind and heart in his work even when measuring himself with the achievements of the foreigner. The same is true of Mycenæan gem-cutting which is at once strongly influenced by Oriental and Egyptian design, and yet absolutely free from the shackles of servile imitation. Nor did these Mycenæans shrink from the most difficult subjects for their intaglios, which it has been proved were chiefly

¹ We may mention the works of Chipiez-Perrot, *L'Art de la Grèce Pré-historique* (also translated into English by Sir Walter Armstrong); Tsountas and Manatt also give a good idea of Mycenæan art. For pottery, see especially the monumental work by Furtwangler-Losche. The few specimens of Mycenæan art which we have been able to introduce into our own pages are rather with the view of encouraging the student to look further, than with the hope of giving him any adequate idea of these matters.

used for purposes of sealing. They represented scenes from life, such as fighting or the chase, in a truly delightful manner. With regard to the Orchomenus ceiling, there is no doubt that the designer had seen Eighteenth Dynasty work in the tombs. Yet Dr. Evans informed me that the general principle of combined spiral decoration is not imported; for he has found instances of this *motif* in Crete, at an earlier date than it is known to exist in Egypt. Hence there must have been waves of action and reaction between Egypt and the Ægean from the earliest times. Of the importation of Cretan metal-work, as well as of pottery, there is the most direct evidence, as well as of the importance attached to it by the Egyptians, as we shall show later.

By far the most beautiful instance of Mycenæan metal-work occurs in the gold repoussé cups found at Vaphio, near Sparta. For a long time there was much scepticism as to the possibility of their being real Mycenæan work. As the designs on both relate to bull-taming (though very different in spirit), and as we now know of the existence of bull-fighting at Knossus, there can be little doubt that they are Cretan work of the latest period before the break up, which is presumed to have been somewhere near the middle of the Second Millenium B.C.

So far as we know Egypt could have produced nothing of the sort. With the exception of the earliest proto-dynastic period the Egyptians were not advanced in naturalistic art. Their aims were not in this direction. What they sought, together with religious conventional art, which no doubt had a certain stateliness often on a scale of huge grandeur, was scrupulous fidelity to detail in the spirit of extreme realism. Their imagination thus got little scope, and their love of beauty was not developed because narrowed to a single type. Whereas we trace in Mycenæan art that freedom, that sensibility, that daring coupled with restraint which, after years of decay and of renaissance, culminated in the vases of Euphronius and the Panathenaic frieze.

We find the same principles exemplified in Mycenæan



A



B



C



D



E.

PL. XVII.

MYCENÆAN GOLD VASES.

A.—Part of Design of Vaphio Cup.

B. & C.—Vases found in Shaft-grave, Mycenæ.

D.—Vase found in Shaft-grave, Mycenæ, showing Egyptian Design.

E.—Nestor's Gold Cup (Il. xi. 632.)

architecture. While on the one hand it borrows not merely in structural forms¹ but especially in the methods of colour decoration and relief design—on the other hand it had a distinct character, and many of the features of Greek architecture, as the Doric pillar and the architrave, can be traced to Mycenæan and possibly even to Minôan types. These are technical points which would take us too far from our special subject. We must not, however, close this Section without a few remarks on the most decisive indication of Mycenæan life which the spade of the excavator has revealed to us. This is the pottery and metal vases.

Mycenæan pottery has a very distinct character, and in its later phases its decoration betokens the naturalistic tendency of the period.

**Mycenæan
vases easily
recognisable.**

Between this, however, and the far earlier middle Minôan polychrome style there was an interval during which the true Mycenæan (naturalistic) style was only growing up. The subjects chosen for its decoration were nearly always marine, especially the polypus, but also shells, fishes, and so on. The different schemes of geometrical decoration are also frequently distinctive, especially when consisting of parallel lines with bands of rosettes and the spirals, which are never more beautiful than in this fabric.

But apart from decorative patterns the pottery has two other unmistakeable characters which are peculiar to it, and yet can be grasped by those least initiated in the jargon of art-schools. One of these is a very beautiful, bright and lustrous paint, varying in tint but reddish, laid on a properly prepared surface. This glaze is readily distinguished; it exists all over the Mycenæan area from Sicily in the West to Cyprus in the East and *absolutely nowhere else*.² It is a quite

¹ In treating of the Argive fortresses, and especially of Tiryns, we remarked the supposed close analogy with Phœnician work in Africa. See above, page 248.

² It was first discovered at Mycenæ, and for long was thought to belong to that city exclusively, and was probably one of the reasons for the adoption of the term Mycenæan.

probable supposition that this glaze prepared the way for that used later for the figure painting of the Attic school of potters, as it is also certain that many of their most characteristic forms of vase can be traced directly to their Mycenæan fore-runners.

The other characteristic pertains to a certain class of vases, or rather serves to distinguish between two classes—one of an earlier, the other of a later period. This, again, is quite an intelligible feature referring, as it does, to the external shape of the vases. The earlier phase of the art produced a sort of jug or beaker, with a protruding lip¹ (sometimes very long) for pouring out the liquid. The later form is much more striking. It consists in a *false-necked*² form of vase—that is, the neck though originally the channel for the liquid, is closed and merely supports the handles. A distinct opening is made in the body of the vase, which was, perhaps, first made for convenience in drinking, before the neck came to be sealed up in the making.

Besides these celebrated forms, there are others which are immediately recognised as favourite patterns. Among them is the mug-form like the Vaphio cups. It is found chiefly in metal, but the potters also imitated it. Another form is the 'trichter' or 'beer-warmer,' which was sometimes perforated and was used as a strainer. There is a peculiar cylix or drinking cup, with a tall stem, usually made with two handles, and often referred to, not inaptly, as the 'champagne-glass' type of vase. Lastly the 'pithos,' or large clay jar, was much used in Crete and had often a peculiar character by which it can be easily known in its metal form in the wall-paintings of Thebes where it occurs.

¹ Called by the Germans *Schnabelkanne*, 'beak-jug.' These vases also extend into the later period, but are not so characteristic of it.

² Called by the Germans *Bügelkanne*, 'stirrup-vase,' from the form of the handles. It is certain that the wide extension of these forms could not have been due to fortuitous causes.



PL. XVIII. CHARACTERISTIC MYCENÆAN POTTERY (mostly Stirrup vases).

A. - Schnabelkanne (or Beak-jug) found at Hissarlik.

B.B.—Champagne-glass Vases.

C.—Octopus Stirrup-vase.

D.—Stirrup-vase found in Egypt.

§ 3. Mycenæan Chronology

In attempting to form a judgment as to the relation between the archæological monuments and the civilisation depicted in Homer, questions of chronology must naturally receive attention. It is evident that as the Mycenæans have left no writing which we can decipher, even approximate conclusions must be indirect; but thanks to our existing knowledge of Egyptian and Assyrian chronology, we find ourselves in possession of evidence which is neither scanty nor unavailing. For the points of contact are not merely numerous, but we shall see that they mutually support one another. When it is a question of the later Mycenæan period we are dealing in Egypt with the Eighteenth Dynasty onward; and at that particular epoch the chronology of Egypt, partly owing to Assyrian contacts, becomes more exact than the earlier portion which is (within certain limits) more liable to dispute.

The student will, perhaps, like to see a somewhat complete conspectus of Mycenæan and Minoan chronology, as proposed in view of recent discovery; and we shall perhaps be permitted to start from what we have called the Dark Age and to work our way backwards towards first beginnings.

Proceeding thus in the inverse order, the traditional date of B.C. 1100 has hardly been seriously disputed for the incursion of the Dorians, who worked such havoc with their new iron¹ weapons, that the existing civilisation was submerged, and the disruption and barbarism of the Dark Age followed. With regard to the date mentioned, it is one on which there is practical unani-

¹ The question of iron is not vital to our argument, and we venture to assume it for the present.

mity, or if it were put slightly lower, it would still be at or near the end of the First Millenium, B.C., which is abundantly sufficient. One argument must suffice. If there was a Dark Age, such as we have all along assumed, it cannot have been much later than 1100 or 1000, because we must leave some centuries to allow for the Great Migrations and the period between them and the Hellenic Renaissance of the ninth or eighth century. On the other hand, there can be no temptation to put the Dorian conquest earlier than the traditional date on account of the remarkable fact that their name is barely mentioned in the *Iliad*.¹

At Tiryns, Mycenæ, Knossus,² and generally in the Ægean area the Dorian crash appears to have been sudden and complete. On the other hand, in certain places, especially Cyprus, the Mycenæan style of art continued to flourish, if not in its purest form still unmistakably, till a much later date. This point is of some importance, for it has led to a denial by some authorities of the early date of Mycenæan culture. They argue, if its products were late in one region, they may have been late in others. On the other hand it seems much more reasonable to see in the survival of the Mycenæan art in non-Dorian localities a confirmation of the theory that its general disappearance was connected with the Dorian conquest. From Ægina, which was not reached at first by the newcomers, Mycenæan objects of a certainly decadent type are among the more recent acquisitions of the British Museum. They have been dated as low as the eighth or seventh century B.C.

¹ Professor Bury thinks the coming of the Dorians was not the sole cause of the decay of Ægean civilisation, but was partly caused by it and by the migrations to Asia (which he supposes partly ante-dated the Doric invasion) and the rise of the Phœnician sea power. This has not been the prevailing view, but certainly deserves consideration. (See Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 60, 1900.)

² I learn from Dr. Evans that the latest discoveries of graves at Knossus tend decidedly to modify this view with regard to that region. Perhaps we may have to regard Crete as one of the islands where the Dorian invasion was comparatively gradual and non-destructive.

It is very remarkable that in Egypt, where there are so many evidences of Mycenæan culture in its prime in the Twenty-second Dynasty which lasted for the greater part of the ninth century B.C. such evidence practically ceases.¹ Egypt was, however, itself in a disorganised state during part of this period.² On the other hand, a very beautiful stirrup-vase was found in a tomb as late as the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty (about 1000 B.C.).

If we now travel backwards in our quest and ask at what period should be fixed the acme of the Mycenæan age, we shall do well to remember there is a distinction to be made between two very marked periods of Mycenæan art, both of them being specially represented at Mycenæ.

We must first consider the later Mycenæan period, that of the tholos-tomb and the stirrup-vases. Our evidence goes to show that this was the epoch of the widest diffusion of Mycenæan culture—but it was also an epoch of decline, for the art represented in the shaft-graves is unmistakably of a higher order than that which followed it.

Taking the stirrup-vase as the simplest test, this begins to occur in the tombs of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty, roughly speaking, 1500 to 1350 B.C. This would be enough; but we can fix dates more closely. King Amenhotep III lived towards the later of the two limits mentioned. His name has been found inscribed on pottery, and that of his wife on a scarab in the tholos-tombs of Mycenæ. This, by itself, would be doubtful, except as giving a superior limit of date (inasmuch as the cartouches of kings and queens often occur in graves of much later date than their reigns). But it so happens in this case there is strong reason for thinking the evidence is

† ¹ At Enkomi a scarab of the ninth century was found; but it has been proved that it was not really associated with Mycenæan remains.

² See Hall's *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 62, and Addenda, p. 313.

contemporary, since the scarabs of Amenhotep and his wife have been found at Rhodes and Cyprus, while none of any other Egyptian monarchs have been discovered in the Ægean area.¹

But we have other and better evidence bearing on this later Mycenæan chronology, namely, the sculptures and wall-paintings of the Egyptian temples and tombs. Such evidence is plainly contemporary, whereas that depending on isolated archæological finds can only be satisfactory if such finds are sufficiently numerous to produce a cumulative argument, the force of which it is frequently difficult to estimate.

During the later part of the period in question, in the reigns of Rameses II (1300), Meremptah (1250), and Rameses III (1200), attacks were made on the Egyptians by the Northerners from the Isles of the Very Green Sea—which is taken to mean the Mediterranean. They appeared first in company with the old enemies of the Egyptians, the Kheta or Hittites, and then by themselves. They were also leagued with the Rebu (or Libyans from the African coast on the West). Rameses III won three great victories over them, partly owing to some of those foreign troops having joined with him as mercenaries. Many of these peoples are named on the inscriptions and have been identified, with great probability, as Sardians² (from Sardis), Lycians, Dardanians, Teucrians, Danaans, and even Achæans³ and Philistines.⁴ The appearance of these various Peoples of the Sea is represented in a fine set of sculptures in the small temple of Medînet Haboo, near Thebes. Their faces are often of the distinctly European type, and their accoutrements are

¹ With the exception of a cartouche of a much earlier date found recently at Knossus. Scarabs of King Khufa, and of Thothmes III. have turned up in Rhodes and Cyprus, but are believed to be forgeries.

² The original is Shairetana, which was for long thought to mean Sardinians, but the island of Sardinia is probably too far to the West.

³ Achaiusha (in the reign of Meremptah).

⁴ Pulesatha.



also distinctive. In the slab, of which we give a photograph, the horned-helmet is noticeable, but the round shield and short sword had come in, and elsewhere something very like a plated cuirass is seen. These are not unlike the sort of arms we should expect to find among the Mycenæans at this period (1300-1200 B.C.). But there is other evidence of a more direct kind. In the tomb of Rameses III himself at Thebes there are very clear representations of Mycenæan vases, especially of the characteristic stirrup-vases. Thus the Egyptian evidence for the later Mycenæan Age as being roughly between the limits of 1500 and 1200 (or 1100) B.C. appears to be both plentiful and convincing.

It will have been observed that so far the best evidence (that from the tomb-paintings) has been far down in the late Mycenæan Age. When we go back to the earlier period, to the time of

The early Mycenæan (or late Minœan) Age. Thothmes III, just beyond 1500 B.C., we come to the remarkable frescoes of the tomb of Rechmara. Here, moreover, we have pictured not merely the products of the Mycenæan people in the greatest profusion, but most unmistakably the men themselves. They are named as Keftians ('Keftiu' or or perhaps the 'Men of Keftiu') and although there has been much controversy on the subject we need have no hesitation in asserting that the name is the Egyptian for the Scriptural 'Caphtor,' and that by this is meant *not* Cappadocia, still less Phœnicia,¹ but the island of Crete. Whatever doubt might have existed previous to the Knossian excavations, since the discovery of the frescoes there we cannot see any room for dispute. The processions pictured in the two palaces do not bear merely a general likeness, but the resemblance down to the smallest particulars is most striking, and seems not merely to show that the Keftians and

¹ It is true that in very late times the Egyptians themselves identified the Keftians with Phœnicians. But this was a very natural error, and cannot stand for an instant in face of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Knossians were the same men, but also that their portraits were painted in both places about the same time. And inasmuch as in both cases the frescoes belong to the zenith of the respective Minōan and Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian revivals, we get the noteworthy result that the acme of these two civilisations appears to have been singularly contemporaneous.

The frescoes at Thebes consist of men bringing the richest and most various offerings of tribute or gifts from the four ends of the world.¹ Those of the Keftians mostly consist of rich metal-ware, much of it either gold,² or silver ornamented with gold. We can easily recognise these as Mycenæan both by their shapes, and schemes of decoration. There are the 'trichters'; cups of general form like the Vaphio cups (which are of gold), exactly like silver ones found at Mycenæ and Enkomi; also very elegant Cenochoæ, pithoi and others. A glance at the illustrations given by Mr. Hall will show the unmistakable resemblance.³ In the decorations, not merely do the spirals and rosettes occur, and the wavy lines characteristic of Mycenæan work, but, strangest of all, the rosette between the horns of the bull, which precise collocation occurred in the shaft-graves.

The resemblance of the men themselves is equally striking. There is nothing Semitic about them; but the ornamental loin-cloth, with belt, as sole garment for the body; the sandals or shoes tied half way up the leg with open bands; the long hair down the back with tufts on the top of the head, can all be confirmed from the Mycenæan frescoes, intaglios, or metal work. We have already said there are traces of a similar procession carrying *the same sort of vases in the same manner* in the palace of Knossus.⁴

¹ There are negroes from Punt (Somaliland) in the South; Syrians (and perhaps Phœnicians) from the East; Ethiopians from the S.W.; and Keftians (Cretans) from the N.W.

² Not merely shown by the colour, but mentioned as such in the hieroglyphics.

³ See *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, pp. 54-5.

⁴ The tufts or top-knots are also seen in *miniature* frescoes at Knossus, and on the fisherman-vase at Phylākopi.



Pl. XX. A.—Keftian (in Mycenaean costume), fresco in Tomb of Rechemara, Thebes.
 B.—Cretan, fresco in palace of Knossos.
 C.—Cretan pithos.
 D.—Philistine, with feather headdress (temp. Rameses III.)

Taking, therefore, the bloom of Mycenæan art as 1550 to 1500 B.C., and placing the previous period of the shaft-graves behind this date—where are we to fix the earlier limit of the Mycenæan culture? We may be certain it was not earlier than 2000 B.C. But if this stage was slow in reaching its prime, five centuries does not seem excessive to allow. In the present stage of our knowledge with regard to the earlier limit, as we know that this culture was developed from a still earlier style, namely, the Middle Minôan, we may adopt 2000 as a convenient date, for this (or 1900) according to Evans dates the beginning of what he calls the Late Minôan or Great Palace period. In other words, we provisionally suppose that the Mycenæan period more or less corresponded with the Later Palace at Knossus, at least in the sense that it fell within its period, though possibly the building, say of Tiryns, may have been later than the building of the Later Palace at Knossus.

In order to complete our scheme of approximate chronology we shall take it back to still earlier periods as far as they can at present be determined by the help of Egyptian contacts. Ever since

**Middle Minôan
and Early
Minôan Ages.**

the original discoveries of Schliemann at Hissarlik evidence has been accumulating for an early form of pre-Mycenæan culture throughout the Ægean area, characterised by the use of stone and obsidian implements, or at best, copper without alloy; the narrow cist graves in which the bodies are buried in a cramped position; a peculiar sort of fiddle-shaped stone idol; and primitive pottery like that of the early strata of Hissarlik which is easily recognisable.¹ We have already given some description of the recent work done at Phylâkopi in Melos, which has an important bearing on this subject. But there could have been no attempt beyond the merest guess-work at

¹ The gold ornaments of the so-called 'Great Treasure' were stated by Schliemann to belong to the 2nd stratum. There is perhaps a growing disposition to disbelieve the possibility of this. On the other hand, the objects though rich and grandiose are thought by many to indicate an early style and technique.

settling dates for the pre-Mycenæan epoch had it not been for the late discoveries at Knossus of well-marked stages both in the palace structure and in the pottery, along with frequent sidelights thrown upon the dates of these owing to the regular communication which, as we know, existed between Egypt and Crete, and through Crete with the rest of the Ægean. Hence, Dr. Evans has now rightly adopted the term *Minôan* to express the pre-Mycenæan periods of culture in the Ægean. His discoveries have been also confirmed by Petrie's excavations in Egypt, where the latter claims to have found Greek pottery, not merely in the First-Dynasty tombs (4300-4000 B.C.), but even in the pre-Dynastic period. To discuss these matters would be beyond our scope; all we can say is, that evidence is accumulating which disposes the minds of many leading archæologists to admit that European civilisation of an indigenous type is as old as that of Egypt—a conclusion which no one could have dreamed of a few years back.

Dr. Evans finds many important proofs of the contemporaneity of his Middle *Minôan* period with the Twelfth Dynasty, which brings it back to about 2500 B.C., or half a Millenium behind the beginning of the Later Palace and the *Rechmara* paintings (1550). The reader knows already that this Middle style was not merely the forerunner of the Mycenæan, but it had its own polychrome pottery, which united very advanced workmanship with distinct and exquisite decorative schemes. Then we mentioned very beautiful metal work, especially in bronze. Besides these features the earlier (pictographic) script of the Eteocretans belongs to this age. At *Phylâkopi* the second (walled) town was found to contain Middle *Minôan* pottery. As to the second town of *Hissarlik*, its date is more conjectural, but perhaps this period would be as plausible as any other for the gold ornaments referred to above.

The Early *Minôan* period has been put at least as early as 3500 B.C., allowing a millenium to elapse between its commencement and the Middle *Minôan*

The Cretan pictographic seals also belong to the same period; and to it must be attributed certain early strata of masonry at Knossus, which indicate some sort of palace, though no doubt of a rude construction. The contacts with the Early Egyptian kingdom are said to be very clear and unmistakable, particularly those of the Sixth and Eleventh Dynasties. But contacts with the very earliest Dynasties are also claimed. Below this immediately are the Neolithic remains, which to judge from the deposit must represent several millenniums.

It appears, therefore, that Mycenæan chronology (even when only approximate) is on the whole well founded, while that of the later age

Conclusions may be regarded as quite clearly estab-
from above state-lished. And what effect will this
ments. chronology have upon our views of

the relation of the Homeric people to the Mycenæans? On the one hand, if we allow that the more primitive school of Homeric epic preceded the Dorian invasion and the Dark Age, the chronological evidence seems to show that that school existed at a time when Mycenæan culture was still alive as to its characteristic features. On the other hand, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Mycenæan art was in its decadence, and there is room for many changes to have come in within the Mycenæan area since the zenith of its culture in the sixteenth century, when the best representations we have of the Mycenæan people were painted at Knossus and Thebes.

§ 4. Homer and the Mycenæan People

It now remains to compare somewhat in detail the remains of Mycenæan life which the spade has recovered for us with the picture of Homeric Life which was given in a preceding Chapter. We must not expect to find coincidences only, nor be disappointed at the occurrence of difficulties in the way of identification. Our object must be to discover whether there is any preponderance in either, and if so in which, direction. At present we shall consider the affirmative side of the question, reserving the objections for a separate section.

One of the strongest reasons for identifying to a certain extent the Homeric people with the Mycenæans is the remarkable correspondence which undoubtedly exists between the geography of the poems and that of the distribution of the remains of the Mycenæan civilisation. The importance of this is more evident when we compare the Mycenæan area with the earliest properly so-called Hellenic geography, and find there is a vast discrepancy between the two.

Distribution of Mycenæan Culture.

At the very outset we are met with a striking correspondence which is, indeed, suggested by the name 'Mycenæan,' a name, which rightly or wrongly seems to be more and more established in use. It need not, however, imply more than what the archæological evidence certainly proves, namely, that at least at the period before the final crash, Mycenæ was really in the position which Homer attributes to her, namely, a centre of political power possessing a quasi-imperial opulence and grandeur. It is true that even in Homer

(it is much more noticeable in Hellenic literature¹) there is a tendency to speak less of Mycenæ than of Argos as the royal capital of the Achæan federation. But if we remember that Argos means, and may have always meant, Argolis (when it was not still further extended in its scope); that the capital had been removed from its more ancient seat of Tiryns, perhaps at a not very remote period, and that in order to be nearer Corinth (which is mentioned in the Catalogue next after Mycenæ as its dependency); and finally that the religious capital, the Heræon, was distinct from, and intermediate between, the other sites; we cannot wonder at the prevalence of a name which did not positively exclude any of these important places while yet it was a sufficiently distinctive appellation of the political centre of the allied forces. Finally, when Homer does speak of Mycenæ, he attaches to the name epithets which are peculiarly justified by the monuments. He calls it 'golden' and 'broad-wayed' and is there any prehistoric site in Greece to which these terms could be



¹ For instance, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus though the scene is really laid in Mycenæ, the city is never once mentioned by its own name, but is called Argos throughout. There may have been a political reason for this, but Æschylus certainly knew his Homer well, and he would not have done violence to its tradition in such a vital point.

so appropriate as the city of the shaft-graves and that ruled by the monarch of the Acropolis?

Next to Mycenæ, Orchomenus¹ stands out in Homer as a rich and powerful city, as has been already indicated; here also the knowledge of the bards has been amply vindicated by archæology. Pylus—the true Pylus in Elis—and Lacedæmon, which are prominent in the poems, have also yielded Mycenæan antiquities; indeed, the Vaphio² cups are among the most precious finds on the whole area. Attica, and especially Athens is well represented—though little is heard of it in proto-Hellenic days. Corinth, again as we might have expected, is said to have yielded comparatively small traces of a settlement. These coincidences are remarkable, and the more so if we allow for the fortuitous element which necessarily enters into evidence obtainable by excavation.

If now we turn to the islands, we see the story is much the same. Ithaca, unfortunately, has not been systematically excavated, though frequently visited by archæologists (including Schliemann and Shuchhardt) so that we cannot yet say that it certainly contains Mycenæan remains. There are, however, several traces above the soil of a pre-historic settlement, especially at a Port which is still called 'Polis,' which name, in the absence of modern buildings may be thought significant.³ Reisch detected there the remains of a terrace-wall built of huge roughly-hewn blocks. Future work may clear up the mystery which still surrounds the abode of Odysseus. And what is important is, that on the opposite island of Cephallenia, mentioned so often in the *Odyssey* in connection with Ithaca, there is very good evidence of a Mycenæan settlement in the shape of Tholos-tombs with the regular Dromos, or entrance passage—both being cut out of the rock.

¹ See above, p. 176.

² Vaphio is close to Amyclæ, which is a very few miles south of Sparta. Buttmann has made it clear that Lacedæmon in Homer means not the town of Sparta so much as the whole valley of the Eurotas.

³ See above, pp. 179, 180.

Salamis has yielded important evidence, apparently (from the difference of burial) belonging to two distinct periods. Anyhow, there was plenty of regular Mycenæan pottery found, including stirrup-vases which are small.

Ægina has been mentioned more than once. Its remains are late; and it also comes in at the end of the Homeric period, being mentioned in the Catalogue only.

It was stated that there is a bare mention of Sicily and its inhabitants in the poems: similarly, we now know that Syracuse at least was the home of Mycenæan culture, as Dr. Paolo Orsi's excavations have proved.¹

So much space was given above to the remarkable contemporary discoveries at Knossus, and other important sites of Crete, that all we have to do now is to remind the reader of what we stated on page 181, namely, that in the poems there is proportional evidence of the prominent position of this island in Homeric times. Crete is spoken of as the centre of a distinct Hegemony; it is also noteworthy that Knossus and Phœstus are both referred to, these also being the chief centres of interest for the modern excavator.

Again, with regard to Schliemann's and Dörpfeld's discoveries in the Troad, it would be wearying to the reader, as well as superfluous, to do more than point out how strongly they confirm the view that the literary and the archæological monuments go hand in hand, and are mutually illustrative of each other. For the size and strength of the so-called Mycenæan (the sixth) city of Hissarlik shows that at least at the date when a confederacy could have existed at Mycenæ, there existed an important fortress in the Troad such as could easily have been the scene of an international contest.

If we go further afield, we find Mycenæan remains in Cyprus and Syria, and Egypt, on the one hand, and on the other in Libya, Sicily, Sardinia, Italy, even

¹ See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i. 69.

including the head of the Adriatic.¹ On the coast of Spain, as in *Bœtica*, there are also traces of communication with the Eastern Mediterranean. But these are the very directions in which the Homeric people, with more or less definiteness, are said to have travelled.

But it is when we turn to the negative evidence that we find the undesigned correspondences the most striking. The absence of all reference to Ionia,² to Eretria, to Olympia, almost to Thebes (and the list could be lengthened) is very significant. But most of all we noted the great gap in Homeric geography between the Confederacy of Priam and that of Agamemnon, the long coast line of what was later known as Macedonia, and which we supposed to be due to a thrust from the north-west. This is also a blank to the archæologist. A glance at our geographical chart will make quite plain the position we are maintaining.

We may now proceed to look at the general character of the civilisation which was fairly distributed over the Homeric area, and ask how far it corresponds to the descriptions which

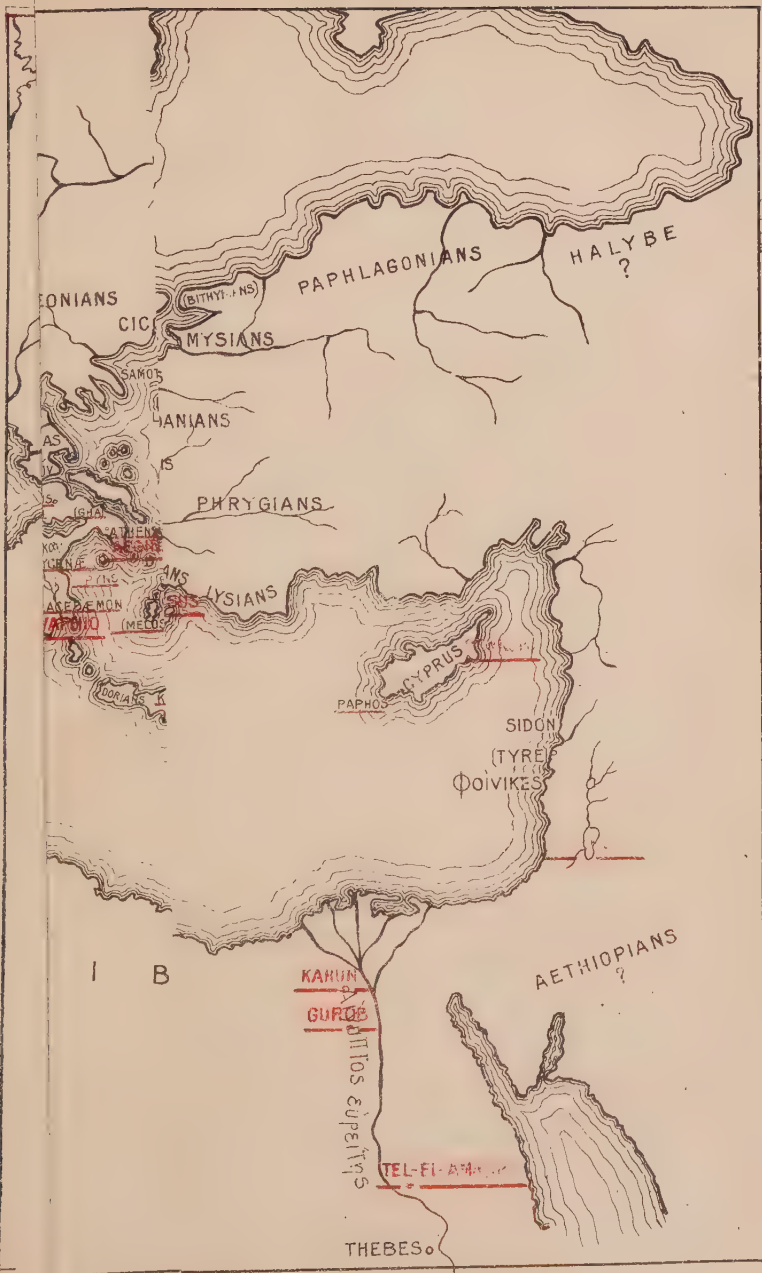
**The Mycenæan
Palace in Homer.**

We read in the poems. Our first enquiry will relate to the great pre-historic dwellings of the living and of the dead. The general lines of the Homeric house need not be repeated. We attempted in our description of it³ to keep as far as possible to the points which have been thoroughly established, and which can in the main be abundantly proved from the text of the poems, purposely refraining from the discussion of controversial questions. Yet all the structural features described, the court-yard with its altar to Zeus and trench for sacrifices; the vestibule; the ante-chamber; the Hall with its fire-place and its pillars; the bath-room with passage from the Hall; the upper story sometimes containing the women's quarters;

¹ See article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1904) by Mr. R. M. Dawkins on 'Mycenæan verses at Torcello.'

² Miletus is known, but as a Carian (not Ionian) city.

³ See chap. iv., § 4, p. 221 ff.



the spaciousness ; the decoration ; even the furniture have been most wonderfully identified at Tiryns and Mycenæ, and in Crete.¹ Any impartial person who has looked into the evidence, must certainly admit that at least in this department of Homeric study, and it is a difficult one, our understanding of the text has been wonderfully quickened and enlightened by the revelations of the spade.

But we may go further. There are certain expressions which were not merely unintelligible, they were absolutely incredible, except for the discoveries of Tiryns and Mycenæ. One of these is the *θριγκὸς κύναιοιο* of the palace of Alcinous. It so happens that vestiges of most beautiful friezes were found at both places, and that at Tiryns,² though not made of *κύανος*, yet still shows particles of an artificial opaque blue glass which not merely justifies but also explains the phrase. Again, the walls of bronze—could anything seem more extravagant to a modern mind ? Yet, in the great Tholos-tomb of Mycenæ we have certain evidence that the inner wall of the dome from floor to ceiling was decorated, and most probably with rosettes of bronze attached to the wall by bronze nails, many of which after more than three thousand years were found still remaining fixed in their position.

The fact is, that it is difficult for us now with our improved knowledge to realize the attitude of readers of the poems scarcely a generation back. What is a sober and familiar reality to those acquainted even superficially with the palaces of Tiryns and Knossus,

¹ It has been already mentioned (on p. 262) that the Cretan type of Megaron, as seen not merely at Knossus but at Phæstus was radically different from that of the mainland. As there was already an upper story, the light could not come from above, so there was a light-well at the back. On the other hand, there are features in common. In particular, the view of the existence of a Queen's Megaron in a separate quarter of the palace has received abundant confirmation at Knossus, and is suggested at Phæstus.

² This frieze is figured on our cover. Though frequently occurring in books as an illustration of the best Mycenæan work, it has not so far as we know been hitherto adopted for decorative purposes.

and the great Tholos-tombs of Mycenæ then looked more like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights* or the descriptions of M. de Rougemont, than an honest attempt to describe graphically the recent glories of a parting epoch.

The Homeric aspects of the treasure which the earth was forced to surrender are not confined to traits of architectural structure. We can, how-

**General features
of Mycenæan
culture.**

ever, put in a brief form what remains to be considered. In the poems we find many references to metal work of various kinds, sometimes it is true with an evident exaggeration of the bards almost to the verge of the fantastic, but often in a way so vivid as to arrest the attention and force the mind to ask what exactly the poet was thinking of? The brooch of Odysseus has been alluded to, as well as the armour of Agamemnon; the armour, and especially the shield of Achilles forged by Hephæstus¹ is so extraordinary, and at the same time so well known, that we need not describe it at any length here. The very elaborateness of the description and the character and movements of the scenes depicted by the artist put quite out of the question any intended reference to the mere achievements of a mortal artist. But what was so surprising in regard to the metal-work of the dagger blades found in the shaft-graves² is not merely that they depict with incredible skill and spirit scenes of life and movement, but they do it by means of the precise technique attributed to Hephæstus, that is by superimposing metals of a different quality and colour, and thus bringing out with realistic effect the details of the picture. Thus in the lion-hunt blade (which we reproduce in Pl. xxi. B. p. 286) the bodies of the huntsmen are worked in gold, and their loin-cloths and shields in silver, upon a bronze ground; just as in the shield of Achilles this clever device was carried a little further, for we are told the vineyard was made of gold, the grapes were

¹ See *Il.* xviii. 478 ff.

² Or rather re-found several years later, when on cleaning the weapons their real character was accidentally revealed.

black (perhaps of iron ?), the vine-poles were of silver, the surrounding ditch of *κύανος*, and the outer fence of tin. Now it is not necessary to suppose that such a method of metal-working was purely indigenous to the Mycenæan area. Modern Japanese work follows the same principles. The *style* of the lion-hunt is certainly original—but the point is, if the bard had seen work of this sort (or even far more extensive and elaborate examples of it) we can quite understand what he meant by the inlay of Hephæstus, though when describing its divine application he gave full rein to his imagination.

The most startling coincidence of all is of course the case of the cup of Nestor with its four *πυθμένες*, its doves feeding on the handles, its golden rivets holding it together. Now, we might have safely defied any scholar to say what these *πυθμένες* (supports) exactly were. But in one of the shaft-graves the very prototype of this wonderful cup was found. It was all golden (probably Nestor's was silver) but it had only two handles with two supports (very simple and characteristic), two doves with beaks protruding over the interior as though feeding.² And it had the golden rivets.³

We may remark there are many other features in the metal-work preserved in the shaft-graves which seem to illustrate the Homeric text. We have alluded to gold *ἐπισφύρια* (they are silver in Homer).⁴ There are also baldricks, sceptres, swords with silver-studded hilts and pommels. Metal greaves have so far been found only at Cyprus, where the reader knows Mycenæan influence lingered longer than on the mainland of Greece.

An interesting illustration of the Homeric text occurs in the sculptural *στῆλαι* found in the ring of the shaft-graves at Mycenæ. We have already described them,

¹ One Alexandrian treatise was entirely devoted to their elucidation, but the Alexandrian critics were not so well off as we are.

² Leaf on *Il.* xi. 364.

³ See *Pl.* xvii. E. p. 266.

⁴ See *Pl.* xiv. B. p. 251.]

and it is only necessary to remind the reader, that after the burial of a Homeric chieftain, the concluding honour consisted in planting a *στήλη* over his grave. But what was its shape, size, or character, no scholar could have ventured to surmise had it not been for the discovery of these interesting stones in their original position.¹ (See Plate opposite.)

The leading points of similarity being considered, we have now forthwith to take account of the discrepancies between Homer and the Mycenæan culture; which subject we were to reserve for a new section.

¹ In regard to this statement Mr. Myres in writing to me has kindly warned me that the question of Cremation may be raised here. He asks, 'If the Homeric warriors were cremated what have the Mycenæan *στήλαι* to do with the Homeric?' I admit there is a difficulty here; but it seems to me that it would be quite wrong to assume that the introduction of cremation necessarily changed the character of all the traditional accompaniments of burial. And the Homeric bards were presumably familiar with the type of *στήλαι* referred to in the text. When therefore they talk about *στήλαι*, we may reasonably assume that they mean at least the same general type until some positive reason is adduced for a contrary view. We deal immediately with the question of Cremation.



A.—One of the *apollonia* found over the Shaft graves at Mycenae.

B.—The Lion-hunt dagger-blade.

C.—Signet with cult of Double Axe.

D.—Model of Mycenaean Shield.



PI. XXII.

ARMING OF HOPLITES.

(Showing later type of accoutrement.)

§ 5. Difficulties of Mycenæan Theory

The burial customs of the Achæans form a very obvious and fundamental difficulty in the way of identifying them with the Mycenæans. In the

Homeric method of Burial. poems Cremation is spoken of ordinarily as the regular method of disposing of

dead bodies, and in more than one passage it is implied that upon this depends the happiness of the departed. There are no doubt, as would be expected, traces in Homer of the contrary custom of inhumation and even embalment of the dead. On the other hand, in the royal Mycenæan sepulchres, both of the shaft and tholos type, there is no real evidence of cremation, though at first a rash claim was put in for certain indications of fire, such as the presence in the graves of charred wood and other similar remains. At the end of the Mycenæan period, in the island of Salamis, some bodies were found cremated; and Salamis was specially connected with one of the Achæan leaders, Ajax, son of Telamon, who belonged to the same great clan of the Aeacidæ which produced the hero of the *Iliad*, Achilles himself. This would be merely an exceptional and sporadic instance of a practice which afterwards became very general. For, if we turn to Hellenic times, we find that the older system of inhumation survived, yet cremation was very commonly practised. For instance, in the Dipylon graves of Athens, which are generally supposed to belong to the period succeeding the Dorian invasion, we find cremation the rule, while several bodies have been also buried unburnt.

Now it must be carefully noted, in order to feel the force of this discrepancy between the Mycenæan and Achæan modes of sepulture, that burial customs are taken by anthropologists as a sure index not merely

of race, but often of religious ideas. It is claimed with much persistence and apparent reason that, as a rule, corpses are buried unburnt in elaborate tombs—with their full panoply and many offerings of food, drink, and other sacrifices—when the spirit of the departed is expected to hover about the body, waiting, perhaps, for some sort of re-incarnation. In Mycenæan times we have seen how many proofs have survived of this system down to the round altar and trench for blood over the shaft-grave at Mycenæ. And, as we have admitted the existence of Egyptian influence, it is perhaps to be detected here, since embalment and elaborate tomb-structures are most typical of the civilisation and religion of Egypt.

The idea underlying cremation is quite different. It is supposed to import that the soul has done with the body, except for a sort of mystical bond which is a drawback to its complete happiness, and which can be broken only by the purifying flames through which the soul is freed from the defilements contracted in life and is enabled to soar to a better sphere. To discuss such theories fully would, of course, be entirely beyond our scope; but it was necessary to mention them here, in order to warn the student that this apparent discrepancy between the Mycenæans and the Homeric people¹ is no slight matter which could be easily glossed over.

The significance of cremation and the likelihood of its implying a special phase of religious belief is considerably enhanced, if it is considered in the light of the history of the Olympian cult as treated of in Chapter IV. To search for any direct and reasoned connection between a custom of burning corpses before interment and an anthropomorphic conception of the deity would appear fanciful, and would certainly be inconsistent with a plan of inquiry which aims at keeping clear of doubtful speculations. All that is insisted on here is the incontrovertible fact, that in the case of the Homeric people

**Cult of Olympian
Divinities in
Homer.**

¹ This difficulty was first pointed out by Dümmler in Germany.

these two tenets did go hand in hand. And should we find it necessary to admit the claim of those who assert that in the Ægean area, the Olympianism of Homer was a comparatively recent introduction unknown to the earlier inhabitants—and, moreover, that it was a faith peculiarly characteristic of the Achæans—we should also be constrained to allow some force to the argument which pre-supposes these latter to be new-comers, and seriously militates against their identification with the Mycenæans. On the other hand, it appears also that strength would be added to the opinion that cremation, which is also characteristic of the Achæans, was not a chance introduction into the Ægean, but connotes a profound change in religion, and presumably the advent of a new race.

We have, then, to revert to the description given above of the Homeric pantheon. We saw that it certainly marks the fusion of various and more or less conflicting elements. When comparing the earlier with later Homeric poetry, we saw that it was possible to trace a notable change in the position of Zeus, and much more are there indications that in the period antecedent to the Homeric poems, he was anything but supreme. Among a large section of the Greek race, even in Hellenic times, Poseidon was recognised as the national patron, and we found it significant that even in Homer he has not been affiliated to Zeus, as were other originally alien deities, but he is put on a sort of par with the 'Father of gods and men' as his brother, so that in one instance he claims complete equality with him.¹ Moreover, it is generally held that the fettering of Kronos implied that the worship of Zeus had conquered his, probably by dint of arms. It is also probable that the relationship of Zeus to

¹ We may mention in this context the Calaurian League which formed an interesting sort of link between Mycenæan and Hellenic times. This was a confederacy of various peoples (all of the mainland except Ægina) who were organised to popularise the cult of the sea-god. They met for the worship of Poseidon at Calauria near Argos, where he had a very ancient temple. Neither Argos nor Corinth were admitted as being too recent in their origin.

Minos, this time as father, is to be explained in a similar way, namely, as the supplanting of an older by a newer cult. According to one view, Zeus was not merely an interloper (and this is evidently true of others of the Olympian circle); he came also late. For the leading Achæan heroes trace their descent from Zeus, and the line of generation is not a long one. For instance, the fathers of Achilles and Idomeneus, and the grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaus, are all represented as having Zeus for their grandfather. But in view of the recently discovered Minôan cult of a deity which there is every reason for identifying with Zeus, this view can hardly be now maintained with the same degree of plausibility.

On the whole many indications combine to show that Olympianism, especially indicated by the supremacy of Zeus over the rest of the Homeric pantheon, is probably regarded by the Homeric bards as the result of a process which was of comparatively late incidence—one which was not even fully accomplished—for side by side with the Olympian beliefs, which are at the time becoming more and more developed and stereotyped, we find abundant traces of an earlier faith which, though smitten, is not finally crushed, but will one day again emerge into prominence while Olympianism is falling into decay.¹

But can we not regard this tendency merely as part of the proper development of Greek thought and feeling, and by no means as due to the introduction of a new racial element, much less to anything in the form of an ethnic revolution? As a matter of fact was not the process gradual rather than sudden—especially as we have argued to the gradual composition of the poems (among other considerations) from the development of the Olympian system towards Monotheism?

¹ We repeat what we stated above, that we are much indebted to Miss Harrison's new work *Prolegomena of Greek Religion*. We may note in passing that this learned writer is of opinion that the conclusions she has arrived at will powerfully contribute towards establishing a radical diversity between the Achæan folk and the Mycenæans.

This is a difficult question, and one which we cannot hope to clear up completely. If there were not a separate set of reasons for thinking the Achæans were regarded by the bards as new-comers, the mere fact of their Olympian proclivities would hardly prove the point. But if the reader will turn back to our section entitled '*Social Organisation*' (*of Homeric Life*) he will see there, besides the genealogies just referred to, other strong and convincing reasons for regarding the Achæans as chieftains who have not been long rooted to the soil of Argolis and Phthiotis, Ithaca and Crete. And they are so fully steeped in Olympianism, in the worship of Zeus, Apollo, and Athena, that if they are late-comers and also these Olympians, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that they came together. It is true that Zeus and Apollo favour the Trojans, but there are special reasons, ethnic as well as poetical, for this; and the strange persistent hostility of Poseidon—who is an Ionian rather than an Achæan deity—to Odysseus, finds an easy explanation in the hypothesis which we have been striving to put as clearly as possible.

To sum up this difficulty against the Mycenæan theory. The Achæans of Homer appear to have come late to the Ægean and to have brought their religion with them. In some way (how far we do not attempt to decide) cremation was a part of their religion. But the Mycenæan people do not seem to have used cremation. Therefore the Achæans were a radically different people, professing a different religion, from the Mycenæans.

We may add a few remarks on the existing evidence as to the religion of the Mycenæans, considered in itself as well as in its relation to the Olympian hierarchy. The nude female statuettes with the characteristic doves point to a sort of prototype of Aphrodite. It used to be supposed that these things were direct proofs of the Phœnician influence. Now, however, it is found that they go back too far into the Minôan period to allow of that hypothesis. The conception of this Nature-goddess was in all probability indigenous to the Ægean area. In Crete we have seen the deity with

the Double Axe—who was almost certainly identical with the Carian and Cretan Zeus of later times—is also prominent. But we cannot argue as to the Homeric pantheon from these or still fainter indications.

On the whole it would seem that, as in other things so in matters of religion, most of the Mycenæan remains belong to earlier and less developed epochs than the state of things delineated in Homer. Before suggesting how these views can be in any degree reconciled with the Mycenæan theory of the Achæans, we must pass on to expound several other difficulties, most of which, it must be confessed, are to the writer's own mind far less formidable than the one we have been considering above.

When describing the material civilisation of the Homeric people, and especially what regards the important question of metal-working, it was unavoidable to introduce somewhat at length the question of iron which enters so largely into our present topic.

It is evident that as the Mycenæans were living in the Bronze Age, if it can be really established that the Achæans were in the "fully-fledged" Iron Age, all controversy as to their identity is ended. But the case is not so clear. In the first place the Mycenæans, as known to us by their remains, were not absolute strangers to iron. For at the end of the period, the metal appears in a worked form, in rings which were on the persons of the deceased warriors. It was, however, even at this time, probably very precious, even more so than gold, and its occurrence with such rarity does not mark its possessors off as iron-users in the sense of employing the metal ordinarily at least for weapons of offence.¹ It is contended, then, that this is quite inconsistent with the notorious fact that the mention of iron is by no means infrequent in

¹ It must of course be borne in mind that as iron rusts more readily than gold, silver, copper, or tin, its occurrence will be comparatively obscure in remains dug from the earth. But the rust itself may sometimes remain as evidence. This, however, is a matter which can be left to the archæologists safely.

the poems, and not merely for warlike weapons, but even for implements of industry such as the plough.

Connected with this discrepancy concerning the use of iron, or at least obviously associated with it as belonging to a period of further development in civilisation, it will be convenient here to enumerate a series of difficulties arising out of accoutrements and form of dress.

We have already seen, though we did not allude to its controversial import, that in the poems there are represented two utterly distinct and opposite sorts of armament, the one, which may be called the large tower-shield type in which all body-armour proper is dispensed with, except a small leather cap, protecting the top of the head; the other, the hoplite type of body-armour, involving a smaller (usually round) shield and including a large helmet, cuirass, metal belt, and metal greaves.

In the shaft-graves a profusion of ornamental plates or films of gold leaf were found, more or less in the form of breast-plates, baldricks and belts from which it was at first thought that the owners might have had more substantial metal armour of which the gold ornaments were more or less imitative substitutes. Further consideration, however, tended to dispel this view; whereas from the enchased metal work and gem drawings it may be safely concluded that the accoutrements of the Mycenæan folk were extremely simple, especially as on a fragment of a silver cup there is very graphically depicted a siege-scene in which the defenders are almost or quite naked; and usually all the warriors wear is a simple loin-cloth with belt. The large body-shield is clearly seen in several beautiful scenes, including the celebrated lion hunt on the dagger-blade.¹ About the shape—they show variety, sometimes the shield is circular but caught in at the sides, sometimes it is a semi-cylinder.²

¹ See Plate xxi. B. p. 286.

² Reichel has been taken severely to task for explaining the epithet πάντοσ' εἶσθ, of this shield—but anyone who will care to look at the picture on the gem figured in Schuchhardt, p. 196 (fig. 178) will, I think, agree that it is not inappropriate. The phrase ἦντε πύργος would, of course, suit the more oblong or semi-cylindrical form admirably.

It is only at the very end of the Mycenæan age that representations of the hoplite style of armour with the round shield occur, not only on the celebrated warrior vase, but also on a painted Stele at Mycenæ and on a fragment of rather late pottery found at Tiryns. It is this last which touches the nearest on the Mycenæan age, but it merely shows that, at the end of the period, the new style of accoutrements was being introduced. Moreover, we find instances of the round shield depicted on the walls of the temple at Medinet Haboo, referred to already as belonging to the Peoples of the Sea, and the Shai-retana.¹ Another tribe supposed to be Danaans (Tannauna) is depicted in the same identical fashion. They are included among the allies of the Egyptians. It is remarkable that with the exception of the round shield the accoutrement is fully Mycenæan—the small helmet with horns, the loin-cloth, the long spear with short sword; in some cases a sort of tunic which appears to be either of pleated linen or covered with horizontal bands of metal; but no metal belt or greaves. Thus these sculptures have some importance as they seem to show a period of transition between the diverse types of accoutrement.

The dress of the Mycenæan women was much more elaborate than that of the men. They wore long skirts from the waist to the feet always ornamented by flounces, and with this a sort of blouse or jacket open in front. The flounced skirt is particularly constant, and it is remarkable that it is worn by the only woman included in the Egyptian painting just referred to. It is not common in Egyptian costumes but finds its prototype in Assyrian designs. There is some reason for thinking the flounces were actually separate attachments not forming part of the groundwork—whether this can be identified with the Homeric peplos is uncertain, but no evident incongruity appears; and, as we have seen, there is evidence that the Homeric woman wore an open bodice.

What is more serious as regards both sexes is an almost total absence of brooches, or even safety-pins, from the Mycenæan relics. It is not always allowed

¹ See Plate xix. p. 272.

to argue from negative evidence of this sort, but if we remember the quantity and variety of metal ornaments included in the shaft-grave finds, the absence of the brooch is certainly remarkable, especially as it begins to appear at the end of the period. The reader will remember in our description of the Homeric costume, the brooch or fastening-pin is mentioned as prominent both in female and male costume.

The above discrepancies mostly consist of the absence of objects which we find described in Homer and do not find in the archæological remains. Now we must give a passing mention to a difficulty of the converse sort—namely a class of objects which occurs very frequently in the finds but is absent from the poems. These are the cut seals, of gold sometimes but more commonly of precious stones, pebbles, or crystal, known as the island gems. We have referred to them so often that no further description is needed. The fact that they are not mentioned in Homer in any connection is certainly curious, and though of course its significance could be easily exaggerated, yet it may be classed among confirmatory arguments as a new point of divergence.

We hope now we have done justice to this branch of our subject, and have made it plain to the student that although there is undoubtedly much that is common to the Mycenæan and the Homeric civilisation there are also many grave reasons to prevent our assuming their identity to be proved.

It is less the aim of this Handbook to lay down conclusions for the acceptance of the student of Homer than to put before him the materials

Prof. Ridgeway's for forming his own conclusions. And
Celtic theory of surely any discussion of the question:
the Homeric 'Who were the Homeric People?'
people. would be very incomplete which did

not include some exposition of Professor
 Ridgeway's brilliant though complicated attempt
 to settle the question on lines which we venture
 to say were never so much as thought of before he
 formed his theory. This theory is on the one hand

marked by great completeness as well as originality, and has been supported by an amazing wealth of erudition and closely-reasoned argument. On the other hand, it is also extremely revolutionary, and involves several conclusions regarding history, archæology, and philology which, in the present state of our knowledge, are certainly premature, and possibly misleading.

Mr. Ridgeway's argument may be considered as involving two distinct positions. He seeks to dissociate the Achæans from the Mycenæans, laying stress on the difficulties we have already enumerated; and he contends that the former were immigrants of Celtic blood coming down into Greece from beyond the Alps. It is evident that this new hypothesis, so far as it could be established, would finally clinch the other arguments; whereas these would lose none of their force by the possible refutation of the hypothesis.

One important qualification of Mr. Ridgeway's position should be stated at the outset to preclude confusion. In designating the Achæans as a Celtic tribe he understands the term as it was applied in ancient times, which he maintains was to a race of Gauls practically identical with those we call German or Teutonic.¹ And now we may proceed to summarize the arguments of the learned professor.

There are several indications that the Homeric bards considered the Achæans as a tribe marked by physical characteristics which distinguished them from friend and foe alike. All the confederates on the Greek side are at times called Achæans, but the name seems to be applied, in a more primary sense, to the chieftains and leading warriors—whereas the common crowd are perhaps more properly styled Argives or Danaans. However this may be, there is something evidently honourable attaching to the term Achæan. This is

¹ It is not, however, easy to reconcile Mr. Ridgeway's linguistic arguments with this position. If Greek labialisation is due to Celtic influence, all Teutonic connexion may be so far neglected. Perhaps, however, the Professor would not wish undue stress to be laid on this part of his theory.

shown by the epithets 'divine' or 'glorious'; 'beloved by Ares,' 'high-souled,' etc. And what we are now specially concerned with is they have a set of epithets which betoken a splendid physique; 'fair-haired,' 'wearing long hair,' perhaps 'bright-eyed;' and are also spoken of usually as men of great stature; and although in the case of heroes this might obviously be attributed to the bardic imagination, yet it is mentioned so pointedly and consistently that taken in connection with other marked traits it might easily be accounted for on anthropological grounds. And what gives plausibility to the theory is that we know there is among European types one which is marked by largeness of limb, fair or reddish hair which is sometimes worn long, and bright blue eyes. And these tribes live towards the North.

The view that the Achæans had, previous to the time we meet them in Greece, travelled thither by a North-west route, would be strongly supported by evidence that they themselves looked to Epirus as one of their ancient seats of residence. Now Dodona in Epirus was among the most ancient and venerable shrines of the Greeks, containing as it did the celebrated oracular oak-grove of Zeus who, as we have seen, was an especially Achæan god. Moreover, in the *Iliad*, this shrine is described in terms which point to a great and venerable antiquity, and is employed to give sanction to a most solemn oath. Yet it is far from the seats occupied by the Achæans in the Peloponnese and separated by mountains from those in Thessaly and Bœotia; so their veneration for it certainly looks very like a memory of the past, and thus supports the view that it had been at, or near, their halting place on their southward journey. Lastly, the priests of Dodona are named in the *Iliad* Selloi or Helloi,¹ and Hellas, the Achæan seat in Thessaly (from which the whole nation was subsequently named), may be probably connected with this etymology.

The above argument is strengthened by considerations

¹ The reading is a little doubtful.

as to trades route from the most ancient times and by the fact that at various points in history new populations have poured down into the southern peninsulas of Europe from the North, and very frequently from the Northern Alps. Even the Dorian incursion, which was only separated from the Achæan by a few generations, or perhaps centuries, may have followed the same general lines, though all we know is that they came from the North. But the student is reminded that we cannot do more here than attempt a very bare outline of the arguments we are considering.¹

So far there has been nothing advanced which is difficult of acceptance. But we now come to the arguments by which Ridgeway attempts positively to prove that the Achæans are a Celtic (or Germanic) offshoot. He would trace them back *viâ* Epirus to the head of the Adriatic, and thence to a position in the Austrian, or as they were formerly called the Norican, Alps. Here within a day's march of Noreia, the central station from which they are named, is the celebrated necropolis of Hallstatt, the discovery of which about the middle of the last century gave such an extraordinary impetus to the study of European archæology. The remains of nearly a thousand graves, when examined, were found to belong chiefly to the Bronze, though they also came down as far as the early Iron, Age. Hitherto the authorities dated these remains vaguely between the limits of 400 B.C. and 800 B.C. or at most 1000. Ridgeway, on the other hand, is convinced that here has been unearthed a pre-Homeric civilisation, and undertakes to prove that from it the Achæans derived those characteristic features by which he holds them to be dif-

¹ It may be remarked here that the arrangement of Professor Ridgeway's most valuable book makes it difficult reading for those who desire to get a complete conspectus of his theory in all its bearings. Most of the work appeared previously in the form of separate articles, and we think it is regrettable that they were not rewritten or at least rearranged for final publication. But the book is a mine of facts which are often handled in a masterly and intuitive manner.

ferentiated from the Mycenæans, whom he regards as the aborigines of the Ægean.

It will be convenient for the student to see here, in a tabulated form, the particulars by which it is sought to identify the Achæans with the peoples of Hallstatt and other neighbouring cemeteries which belong, generally speaking, to the same civilised type.

I. The Physique of the Homeric People. We have seen that they were fair-haired and large-limbed. These were certainly characteristics of the Gauls and Celts in general. In particular the size of the Hallstatt people is marked, among other things, by the size of the sword-hilts, which are far larger than those found at Mycenæ. The Gauls were also known to wear their hair long, which was apparently the vogue of the Achæans.

II. The practice of Cremation. There is plenty of evidence of this at Hallstatt, though the practice was by no means universal, as in Greece after its introduction cremated bodies are found side by side with those buried unburnt. On the whole the use of cremation seems to have been the practice of the richer persons (cremation involving expense), and this, too, would agree very well with the Achæan custom.

III. The use of Iron. It was stated above that iron comes in at the end of the Hallstatt period. In Roman times Noricum became very celebrated for its iron supply, since it was even exported beyond the shores of Italy. As it is an essential point in Mr. Ridgeway's theory that iron came first from the North to Greece (contrary to the hitherto prevailing belief), he naturally insists on this fact of the Norican supply. This is a question which can hardly be decided, and it is obviously beyond our scope to discuss it further. Later we shall try to show that it is not permissible to assume that the Achæans were in the Iron Age.

IV. The Round Shield and Hoplite Equipment. In the graves of Hallstatt and throughout the central European area the round shield appears to have prevailed at such times as they used bronze equipment. Moreover, the shields are usually supplied with a

central boss, and Homer speaks frequently of bossy shields. Regarding the Mycenæan shield there has been much difference of opinion, but the point is one of only minor importance. Greaves of bronze have been found at Glasinatz (though not at Hallstatt), also large helmets at both sites, and plates of bronze which might have been parts of breastplates. The spears had butt-pieces, and other Homeric traits were noticed. In a word, Ridgeway thinks the Gaulish and Homeric chieftains followed the one type, and that the Northern one was the prototype.

V. The Brooch or Fibula. This was very common in the Alpine area—nearly every grave yielding some specimens. One of these happened to be ornamented with the figure of a hound, recalling the brooch of Odysseus. The student will remember the importance of this article, as it is supposed to indicate a method of dress generically different from clothes worn without it. As a rule the latter are close fitting—the former more like the Scotch plaid, which is still worn with a brooch on the shoulder.

VI. Labialisation in Greek. By this is meant a tendency, somewhat sporadic, to substitute a labial for a guttural, or sometimes even a dental consonant. It occurs in Latin, and in that tongue has been attributed to Celto-Germanic influence.¹ In Greek the tendency appears perhaps more than in Latin (*cf.* ἵππος with *equus*), but it is often seen chiefly in dialectical varieties (as in Attic ὄπον, κ.τ.λ., *cf.* the closely allied Ionic ὄκου of Herodotus). Ridgeway then proposes to account for this phenomenon in Greek by contact with the same sort of peoples.² His theory is, that the Achæans adopted the language they found among the Greeks, but imparted to it certain peculiarities of their own tongue. He

¹ Compare *Petor-ritum* with *quatuor*: so in Greek there are dialectical forms of this word (πίσῦρες, κ.τ.λ.) showing labialisation.

² Dr. Monro (*Od.* xii.-xxiv., p. 487, severely criticises Prof. Ridgeway's argument, adducing reasons to show that he has confused distinct sets of phenomena. It is only right to add that Ridgeway proposed this part of his theory only tentatively.)

shows that this often happens in the case of a victorious race, especially when they are in a minority and intermarry with the native women.

VII. Other subsidiary Arguments. Of these we may mention one of the most interesting, namely, that while some of the Achæan proper names—such as Agamemnon and Menelaus—have a Greek sound, the names of several very important heroes, as Achilles, Odysseus, Ajax, etc., appear to be foreign. In later times, it is true, generally, names of persons were significant; in the pre-historic age we are, perhaps, prepared for more variety. However, the point was worth calling attention to.

We now claim to have put before the student a clear and honest statement on the one hand of the chief difficulties in the way of recognising in the Mycenæan remains the solution of the problem, 'Who were the Homeric people?' and on the other hand the many and subtle arguments for seeking a solution in a very different direction.

So far the tangle is worse than when we commenced our investigation. Nor must we as yet expect to see our way quite clear of difficulties. We shall, however, in a concluding section of this chapter make bold to lay down certain propositions which will go some distance, as we hope, towards reconciling theories which at first sight appear wholly incompatible.

§ 6. Some Hints towards Reconciliation

¶ After what has been stated of the opposing theories regarding the Homeric people and their interpretation by modern archæology, it looks like a

**Possibility of
constructing a
“*via media*.”**

hopeless task to seek for a *via media* which shall, even to a small extent, satisfy the difficulties which fall on both sides. On the other hand, it appears to the present writer not merely that it is possible to find a basis of reconciliation, but that it is absolutely imperative for us to do so. The reasons which we have alleged for recognising the Mycenæan civilisation as the true objective of the Homeric bards are too manifold and weighty to allow us to treat of them as merely imaginary or accidental coincidences. On the other hand, the difficulties advanced by Professor Ridgeway (even if we assume, as we do, that his hypothesis contains its weak points, and that it would be rash for us to accept it in its entirety) are not such as can be disposed of by a mere wave of the hand. Individually the points which he raises in opposition to the Mycenæan school might be perhaps explained or got rid of. But his argument (at least if considered under its negative rather than its positive aspect) can hardly be treated fairly unless it is considered as a piece of cumulative reasoning. A chain is snapped if you break any of its single links ; a rope depends for its hold on the united strength of the twisted strands—for they act together. Now, we wish to make it clear that we are fully alive to the collective force of the difficulties we have enumerated as contained in Ridgeway's treatise.

In order that the reader may be in a position to understand the basis of reconciliation which is to be here proposed, though not without a certain shrinking from the evident difficulty of the task, we shall commence

by pointing out certain opinions on either side which we think undeniable evidence warrants our rejecting as extreme; and thus the ground will be cleared for our attempt to construct a *via media*, at least as a working hypothesis.

Some of the views which we are going to clear out of the way may not be really held by responsible writers.

Extreme opinions which ought to be rejected. It is enough to make us consider them that they are supposed to be current by those most opposed to them. And

in cases of acute controversy it may, of course, happen that the advocates of a cause through excess of zeal give a handle to the enemy to credit them with more extreme opinions than they really hold. Now, among the archæological school from the time of Schliemann onwards there has been a good deal of enthusiasm with perhaps a tendency to insist strongly on one-sided truths, and to treat solid difficulties (and those who propound them) with something perilously near contempt. The result is, the cause they have at heart—and we believe it is a good and worthy cause—suffers from such lack of prudence.

It is one thing to hold that modern archæological discoveries are of the greatest use to the student of Homer, to maintain that the prehistoric civilisation revealed by the spade at Hissarlik, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Knossus is, in the main, the long-lost prototype of the *Iliad* and (to a certain extent) the *Odyssey*—and quite another thing to press the identity so far as to refuse to recognise any points of discrepancy, even to the point of doing violence to the Homeric text. Presumably the Mycenæan remains (especially if taken in a wide and commonly-used sense) cover a large period of time. They certainly on the whole represent an early stage of society, one less developed, we should say, than the civilisation portrayed in Homer. Yet, in spite of clear and patent divergencies certain writers have got into the habit of speaking of the Mycenæans as absolutely identical with the Homeric people, not merely in the sense that they refuse to admit any generic or ethnic distinction between them, but also

as though the date of our remains exactly corresponded with the date of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. So great an authority as Tsountas,¹ for instance, would even date the arrival of the Homeric Achæans in Greece by the changes in Mycenæan culture represented by the tholos-tombs, the lion-gate style of architecture, and (I suppose) the stirrup-vase class of pottery. No doubt this, if it could be maintained, would be a most satisfactory as well as interesting hypothesis—but what is the use of trying to maintain it in the teeth of common sense? How is it that we have not a trace of cremation (to take one obvious difficulty) till long after the tholos-tomb period, when it becomes quite common? This particular view (it seems to me, though I was long attracted by it) could only be held by those who are either quite insufficiently acquainted with the facts, or whose minds are somewhat warped by a predetermined theory.

On the other hand, we have no intention of giving the Mycenæan theory away. It is the incautiousness of some of its defenders—though every day they are becoming more guarded and moderate in their language—which gave its opponents the opening to treat it with scathing ridicule. Professor Ridgeway in particular, though he quite admits that he has a large phalanx in front of him, treats his opponents with very little mercy, as though they were nearly lost to the sense of truth and justice. His own contribution to Homeric questions is so immense that we may forgive a little harshness towards the bulk of his predecessors; but we must take notice when he appears to misinterpret the views of those whom we have called the Mycenæan school of Homeric critics. Moreover, in his manner of stating his case he tends to exaggerate discrepancies, which we are quite willing to allow exist between the Achæan and the Mycenæan civilisation. All through

¹ That is, if we can trust Professor Manatt as a safe exponent of his views: but this is very uncertain, as the latter tells us he took great liberties as a translator: see Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, chap. xiv.

his book he creates the impression that he is exhausting every device to establish an impassable gulf between the two, and the impression is by no means removed when, at the very end of the treatise, he informs us that he meant something very different.

We should have supposed that his view of the coming of the Achæans was not altogether unlike the hitherto prevailing belief regarding the incursions of the Dorians—namely, that it was a cataclysmic event which swept away existing institutions and left the history of Greece a blank for several centuries. On the contrary, Professor Ridgeway admits almost on the last page of his book that the Achæans were immensely indebted to their predecessors, not merely for much of their material civilisation, and for their language and literature, but even for the very medium in which their own epic was cast—the high-sounding, immortal hexameter.

But, we repeat, the tendency of his theory and of the manner he has chosen to elaborate it, is to institute the strongest contrast of race, language, physique, religion, and civilisation between the Homeric warriors and the Mycenæan folk. This, then, is an extreme view which we need not and should not accept, any more than the extreme view on the opposite side. And we shall now proceed to explain and give reasons for the opinion which we have called a *via media*.

The first point to make clear is, that when we speak of the relation between the Mycenæan and the Homeric civilisation we refer to the civilisation

The Principle of not of the Homeric bards, but of the
Contamination— people they sang about. This is, of
not Interpolation. course, a mere truism, and yet it is one
that is too often clearly overlooked, or

at least its consequences are not rightly estimated. We must consider its bearings closely, and before doing so beg leave to apprise the reader that this question is not unconnected with the position we took up regarding the Homeric bards in our second chapter.

While dispensing ourselves from deciding minute questions as to the different strata of composition in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, we took it as certainly proved

(if any literary question is capable of proof) that there is discernible in the poems at least one great structural fissure dividing what we called the creative from the imitative work. The earlier portion (consisting mainly of the *Achilleid*) must be dated *before*, the later portion *after*, the coming of the Dorians and the great Migrations. Again, our system of accounting for the present state of the poems was by a process of evolution, not aggregation—in which process they were transmitted orally, passing through the minds and mouths, not merely of many men, but probably of distinct bardic schools.

How does this theory affect, say, the crucial question of the iron references in Homer, on the supposition, which we are prepared to maintain, that iron came in with the Dorians, and not, as Professor Ridgeway would have it, with the Achæans?

We have seen how the references to iron stand. Taken in the aggregate they are fairly numerous as well as spread over the whole 'corpus' of Homeric poetry; but taking the references to iron weapons and instruments by themselves, they are not plentiful in the *Iliad*, and mostly belong to the less primitive strata of that poem.¹ Surely, on our supposition, it is not surprising to find that (perhaps quite unconsciously) the later Ionian bards, who were every day familiar with the use of iron implements, should introduce the mention of them chiefly into their own newer additions to the older work, but even occasionally into their recitations of the more primitive strata.

An instance of the sort of way that changes in the text could naturally come about occurs in a passage of the *Odyssey*, to which as far as I am aware, attention has not been previously called. Towards the end of the poem² (which part we suppose on the whole contains a good deal of comparatively late work) the poet is going to relate the contest of the bow, and for some reason he has decided that the arrows used on the occasion shall be tipped with iron, and so they are

¹ See p. 220.

² *Od.* xxi. *init.*

described. So Penelope goes to the chamber (*θάλαμος*) in which the treasures are kept, and which had been previously described at the commencement of the poem. In both places these treasures are described, and especially the store of metal goods. In the earlier passage gold and bronze only are mentioned, but in the latter place is added *πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος*. Now, how easy it would have been for this later passage to react, in recitation, on the earlier. As a matter of fact it did not, which, perhaps, witnesses to the conservative spirit of the bards. But at least the point serves to illustrate what we mean by Contamination, as distinct from ordinary Interpolation. We have no idea of finding fault with our text, nor wish to expunge anything from it. But we recognise that it combines different elements—pre-Dorian and post-Dorian—just as a ‘contaminated’ play of Terence combines into a single plot elements from two distinct Greek comedies.

Now, it may be urged, how can we assume that the Ionian, *i.e.*, post-Dorian, school introduced into the poems references to their own style of civilisation, and especially the use of iron, which they ought to have known, according to our theory, was introduced by the Dorians—while they carefully avoided every mention² of the Dorians themselves, and even their own surroundings in Ionia, whither their ancestors had been driven by Dorian pressure? They certainly appear to have known that the Homeric age proper was one of bronze. We freely admit that there is a difficulty here (we do not desire even to minimize it) and yet we think the difference can, to a certain extent, be accounted for. The one omission, which is really remarkable, can be thought to be due to national pride, than which no motive is stronger—and hatred of the Dorian name might induce a conscious effort to archaize consistently in matters of ethnology. We might, indeed, have expected them to be still further consistent by applying

¹ *Od.* ii. 337, ff.

² Except the one in *Od.* ix., to which reference has frequently been made.

the same principle to matters of ordinary life ; but we simply find they did not do so, and we must be content with the fact. This 'contamination' of the older by the newer ideas and experience, is no theory invented here to account for discrepancies between the poems and archæology. On the contrary, it enters so vitally into our whole conception of the poems that we put it forward in an earlier chapter dealing with the question of authorship as a palmary and convincing proof of the gradual evolution of the poems.

And although we have considered this principle chiefly in reference to the iron question, it will evidently allow of a much wider application. In considering the descriptions met with in the poems of Homeric armour, we have already seen abundant evidence of a two-fold type co-existing in the minds of the bards, and that in certain passages there is even engendered a confusion of the new with the old. In this case, at all events, not merely may the theory of contamination be invoked with effect, but the phenomenon is so patent that it is not easy to see how it can be explained on any other principle. The efforts of Reichel and his school to expel from the text the references to Hoplite armour appear to many to be very violent. But neither can we agree with those who would practically shut their eyes to the presence of the Mycenæan shield in the ranks of the Homeric warriors and all that it imports. If the Achæans had brought with them into Greece a new type of armour exactly the same as that used by the later Celts we should expect that they would have been able to give a more simple and consistent account of it than we find in Homer.

This subject of the armour-type hangs very well with the introduction of iron weapons, for it is only likely that one involved the other. And the havoc caused by the Dorian invasion certainly lends great plausibility to the theory that the Dorians were an iron-using race, swooping down on a people who had not yet laid aside their trust in weapons of bronze. And this theory is, to our mind, thoroughly borne out by the evidence contained in the poems ; for they are just what might be

expected from authors thoroughly habituated to iron, but trying to describe, and in great part faithfully describing, the age of bronze.

It has been objected, however, that the fighting in Homer implies iron swords, because the heroes use them for the cutting stroke much more frequently than for the thrust; and that bronze swords being shorter and weaker are only suitable for the thrust. This argument is specious, but as a matter of fact, at least towards the end of the Mycenæan period, a longer type of bronze sword came in which could be used well enough for cutting, a type which is sufficiently represented even in the shaft-grave finds.¹ And it should be noted that the Mycenæan people, perhaps, knew how to temper bronze better than we do. Anyhow they used bronze razors.

Lastly, this view of the later post-Dorian influences on the Homeric text will perhaps account for the references to later attire as represented by the use of the brooch or safety-pin for fastening garments.

The references to *περόνη* and *ἐνέτη* taken together are not more than three or four in all; in the *Iliad* each word occurs but once, and certainly not in the supposed primitive parts,² so that to account for them on the principle of post-Dorian contamination does not seem difficult. If the later bards really belonged to a different and much more developed civilisation than the earlier, they would require to be very much on the alert to keep out all anachronisms. That they admitted fewer, on the whole, than we might have expected shows that they adverted to the matter, whereas, perhaps, much of the life and colour of the poems is due to the fact that their authors, living as they did in a transition period, were eager to describe what they knew and saw with their eyes.

It may now finally be objected that our principle of Contamination merely comes to this—that one element

¹ See Schuchhardt, p. 265, where the swords are figured, one broken and one at full length.

² The reference to *περόνη* is *Il.* v. 425, and to *ἐνέτη*, *Il.* xiv. 180.

in the poems reflects Mycenæan life and another does not—and that as we have no certain criterion for distinguishing these elements, we might as well follow Ridgeway frankly, and (practically) deny any more than a chance correspondence between the poems and the Mycenæan remains.

Before, however, going further with this particular subject it will be necessary to view the whole subject from another, and a broader, point of view. For there is yet a second far-reaching principle to be applied to the whole question of correspondence or divergence between Homer and the Mycenæans.

We have been hitherto dealing with these traits in the material civilisation depicted in Homer, which appear to be fairly attributable to a late redaction of the poems. We have

**Discrepancies
not accounted for
by post-Dorian
Contamination.**

in particular sought to exempt ourselves from the necessity of attributing the introduction of iron to the immigration of the Achæans from the North. But we also saw above that there is another set of features which are far more ingrained in the essential texture of the poetry than a mere chance reference to iron-headed arrows, bronze greaves, or even the fibula of Odysseus' cloak. We mean, of course, the references to cremation and the belief in the Olympian system, which appear to be common to the earliest stratum of the poems—for without Zeus and his family circle we could scarcely imagine a line of Homer to be possible. How, then, do we propose to deal with these features of Homer? If they have to be given away as foreign to Mycenæan civilisation, why strain any point to explain references to material things?

We must ask the reader to reconsider for a moment the nature of the problem we are discussing. **We seek a working hypothesis** which will explain **all the facts equally**. It would be most easy to construct a theory that would explain points of contact and leave discrepancies to take care of themselves—or to account for the latter while ignoring the arguments on the other side, or while dismissing them contemptuously.

Now, it seems to us that the only way we can steer a middle course between Scylla and Charybdis is to be very careful about keeping distinct from one another aspects of the question which may very properly be placed in separate categories. For the use of iron and the other commodities which may easily be supposed to have come in with iron are so essential to a definite system of civilisation, that to attribute them simply to the Homeric people would be absolutely to sever their connection with Mycenæan times, and thus we should have, as we believe Ridgeway to have, a plausible but one-sided hypothesis.

On the other hand, we are quite satisfied if we can show that the Achæans, being in the bronze age, belonged *essentially* to Mycenæan (rather than to Hellenic) civilisation. They did not necessarily belong precisely to the same stage of national growth. This becomes a question of dates, not absolute indeed, but relative. Now is seen the importance of attending to the question of Mycenæan chronology. Our information on the subject seemed to prove that the Mycenæan era extended itself over many centuries at least; and there is hardly any sane authority on the Mycenæan side but would put the Homeric period at the very end of that era. We would go a little further, and gladly allow that the Homeric Achæans are somewhat later than the bulk of our more important Mycenæan remains.¹ At first sight this will appear a very fatal concession, but it is not really incompatible with the view we are seeking to defend. An interval of time on the one hand would leave room for the development of religious thought, and the introduction of certain changes of a semi-religious nature, which are on a wholly different footing from an organic social and material revolution, such as we believe the Dorian, but not the Achæan, invasion to have involved. Our contention is, in other words, that the changes we must admit in the true Homeric economy, when it is compared with the Mycenæan, are such as time will

¹ Mr. J. L. Myres seems clearly to recognise this principle. For he speaks of Homer as Sub-Mycenæan Epic. See (article on Helbig) *Clas. Rev.*, vol. x.

naturally work without postulating any great or sudden catastrophe shaking the foundations of society.

From this point of view many of Ridgeway's hypothetical statements are harmless. Let us grant for the sake of argument that the Achæans were a new and distinct race; that they came from the North; that they had marked physical characteristics as well as religious tenets; even that they were of Celto-Germanic blood, and that Greek labialisation is due to their influence; yet all this is quite compatible with a comparatively peaceful, or at least undestructive, advent. They may have passed into the heritage which they found prepared for them without more noise than water causes by falling upon a sponge. We know that in any case Agamemnon, their great chief according to the Homeric statement, was something of a foreigner, for he belonged to the house of Pelops, which had immigrated from Phrygia¹ not more than two or three generations before the scenic date of the Trojan War.

Our hypothesis is then as simple as it is also something of a mediatising, one. The civilisation described for us by Homer as that of the Greeks under Achæan rule, is substantially the same as to distribution, character, and (widely speaking) epoch, as that of the remains recovered by archæological search. At the same time (even after we have made allowance for post-Dorian contamination) we still find in the poems many indications that on the whole they picture for us a somewhat late and highly developed stage of social, and a somewhat modified character of religious, ideas. We believe those modifications indicate the presence of natural growth, rather than of volcanic and destructive agencies. Whether such changes as we recognise were due to the invasion of ideas or of an armed force

¹ Pindar (Ol. i. 24) says Lydia. Thucydides (i. 9) quoting, as he says, the best authorities, is more vague, for he only asserts that Pelops came from Asia. Another tradition, which is claimed by some authorities as the most genuine one, made out the Pelopidæ to be natives of Hellas. But the view given in the text was certainly prevalent in later times.

is a secondary question. Many reasons can be urged, and have been urged, for the latter, but it must not be assumed as certain, nor does it materially affect our hypothesis.

What we have to insist on, if we would explain all the evidence, is this. No matter who the Achæans were, no matter when they came, or from which quarter of the globe, they may have brought something of their own, certain new ideas about the gods, and even new burial-customs into Greece—but they did not introduce a completely brand-new civilisation which was utterly subversive of the glorious art and splendid surroundings which they found awaiting them in their new home. They may have come gradually, as it is known that even the destroying Dorians did, so that even their descent into Thessaly and Argolis may have covered long periods of time. We know now that the *Ægean* civilisation reaches to a very distant period, for it can be traced back, with almost unbroken continuity, through the very beginnings of metal right up to the neolithic man. No one ever dreamed of attributing all the pre-historic civilisation of Greece to the Achæans of the Trojan War and after. What we maintain is, that they entered into, belonged to, and essentially participated in that civilisation. And their poets, even the original, creative school, depict a state of things when that system which took long ages—not merely centuries, but milleniums—to evolve itself had reached its zenith and was already, after the fashion of human things, beginning to decay. There was thus provided a tempting bait for the semi-barbarous invader from the North who had at his command new weapons, and who already possessed an incipient civilisation which should finally, by fusion and the renaissance of the old, produce what may be conveniently called the Proto-Hellenic type.

There is no evidence, we repeat, that the Achæan invasion, for such there probably must have been, was of this revolutionary character. Take away from the picture all the features which have been borrowed from the Dorian invasion, give the post-Dorian poets

the credit of the references to iron and other post-Dorian things, and nothing remains to disprove the view of those who hold that Schliemann found—not indeed the tomb of Agamemnon—but the tomb of that Homeric life which Agamemnon represents to us. In the Mycenæan remains we have uncovered before our eyes the material form of that impulse of which we had already met the spiritual in the Homeric page. We find there is a kinship, and we delight to trace it, between the first achievements of Greek art and of Greek literature. In both cases there is more to come, maturer work, further and more finished development; but in neither case do we lack aught of perfection; for Homer and Mycenæan art alike are delightful in what they do as well as in what they promise,—they are both instinct with life, with truth, and with beauty.

Professor Ridgeway has not, we believe, proved all of his theory. Parts of it regarding the ethnic affinities of the Achæans, the Northern source of iron in the Mediterranean, the extended habitat of the Pelasgian tribes, the Celtic origin of the round shield, and many debatable questions, though they must have immense interest for us modern students of Homer, yet do not directly concern us, and could easily be admitted without gravely affecting our views. But, we repeat it, these various hypotheses as treated by the learned Professor have thrown the greatest light on the question which does concern us, namely, that regarding the identity of the Homeric people. It is a distinct gain to the student to be put on his guard against taking for granted a closer correspondence between our existing literature and archæological remains than the facts warrant, and to have his attention called to points of divergence, which are important, if for nothing else at least because they may yet serve to fix a closer date for Homer than has been hitherto established. And further than this we do not think the evidence will at present carry us.

CHAPTER VI

The Epic Art of Homer

ANYTHING like criticism of Homeric art is difficult to attempt. For though no one has been more written about than Homer, no one seems so

**Difficulty of this
part of our
subject.**

thoroughly to elude the critic. Not that the analysis generally strikes one as being untrue, but it is so inadequate.

We are told that Homer has the rare gift of combining simplicity with grandeur, the ideal with the real. Or, again, that Homer is essentially rapid, clear in thought, plain in diction, and noble. How true are these judgments—shall we say truistic?—but how little they enable us to discern what is the true grandeur of Homer, the true idea, the true clearness, the true nobility!

Other writers, again, take the characters of the poems, Achilles, Hector, Odysseus, Nestor, Andromache, Priam, and the rest, and subjecting their actions and history to severe examination try to reach the secret of the beauty and the majesty of the poems, and of the thralldom under which they have ever held the human mind. Much of this sort of criticism may contain elements of truth, and yet it is far from satisfying to the lover of Homer.

Now if we discover the reason why literary criticism fails to explain the fascination of Homer we may also discover one reason for that fascination. In literature, as in all art, there is a two-fold element—the natural and the acquired—or in other words what we call ‘genius’ and what we call ‘technique.’ Both these elements are of great, though of course unequal, importance in the production of masterpieces. Criticism

deals with both, but necessarily it deals more with that element which is the product of rule, or at least of tradition, and which, just because it seems to border upon the artificial lends itself somewhat readily to an artificial analysis.

Now, without denying that there is a technique in Homer, for the poetry represents a regular literary tradition and is far too elaborate to be regarded as the production of mere untrained genius, yet it is evident that if we compare Homer with any of the other great literatures of the West—whether Greek, Roman, English, French, German, or Italian—we see at once that it is far more primitive and, so to say, unartificial than the rest.

Homer comes down to what is most elemental in human nature, and this appeals to us all. The chief interest in Homer (I do not refer to the *Odyssey*) is round Achilles ; anyone who cannot feel this may be capable of criticising Homer, but need not be argued with. The fate of Troy and the Trojans, of Hector and Andromache, which many have strangely maintained is nearest to the poet's heart, is made interesting, no doubt, but all this is mere by-play—a foil to the real vital centre of the poems, which must necessarily be the action and the character of its hero. But what should we say of the character of Achilles ? It has been subjected to the most minute discussion ; everything imaginable has been said about it generally in laudation, but sometimes otherwise. But in reality is there what we can really call a character of Achilles at all ? It may seem paradoxical, but I hold he has no quality except one, and that is *ἡνροπία*, the quality of Manliness. Compare Achilles, for instance, with the great creation of Shakespeare, Coriolanus. In many points he is very similar to Achilles. Both are proud, passionate, generous, unyielding. But you feel you could recognise Coriolanus if you should meet him in a crowd. He has a personality, a particularity of his own. Not so, perhaps, with the Homeric creation. As the Zeus of Pheidias was simply Divinity in stone,

so Achilles is simply Humanity in verse. He is too typical to be particular. He is personal it is true—because he is not vague or nebulous—but he is simply the poet's conception of what Man (when stript of all his vulgar limitations) must be. Being Man, he must be a soldier; and being a soldier he must be—Achilles! His creator portrayed him as he did, not because he *chose* to do so, but because in his heart he *knew* that he was so. Achilles was swift-footed as a matter of course. His armour would not fit anyone else, how could it? He could not forgive, because, as in his armour, so in his hate there was no weak spot. It was stronger than all the claims of his countrymen—it might yield to naught but his love. This is man—elemental man—in his naked intensity, at once strong and weak. He has a touch of the Divinity in him, but he is human in the last resort. We call Achilles super-human: that is our littleness. Homer was greater—to him Achilles was only man, man after his own heart, man according to his own intuition of him.

The essence of Homeric art is that its intuitions are like that of a child. It sees everything in its own way, it finds delight in it all, it has no more self-consciousness than had Alice in Wonderland. She is delightful because she is delighted at everything she sees, even if they are, as we know, absurdities. The Homeric bard does not deal in unrealities, but his mind is like that of Alice, in that it is as limpid as the child's, and he takes the same simple pleasure in his vision that she did in hers.

This view of Homer is most applicable if we regard the older of the two poems. In the *Odyssey* we are conscious of a distinct advance upon the *Iliad* towards elaboration of plot and a less fresh because more literary and self-conscious standpoint. If I may be allowed to differ from many worthy critics, I should say the *Odyssey* is less Homeric than the *Iliad*. To me the greater part of it when compared with the *Iliad* is mere Homer-and-water. I should not wish to imply that the process of sophistication is gone so far as to ruin the manner of

The *Iliad* and
Odyssey
compared.

the Odyssean bards. The *Odyssey* compared with anything else but the *Iliad*, is Homeric enough.¹

This, then, is what makes it difficult to subject Homer especially the primitive Homer, to criticism. He is native genius, pure and unadorned, too primitive to come under the laws of art, though himself a law to artists. It were hard to criticise a sweet innocent child, frank, sportive, gay, full of wonder and of love, light as air, yet earnest all the while. You know he must be educated, even though you fear he may lose more than he gains. Anyhow, it were hard to criticise him now.

But if it is nugatory to institute a comparison between Homer and the literary epic of highly advanced and cultured peoples, yet there is a term of comparison which it is worth our while to adopt. I mean the body of Greek literature in its later maturity. In spirit rather than in form Hellenic poetry, as every other branch of Hellenic

**The Homeric
Poems
thoroughly
Greek.**

literature and art, derived its inspirations from Homer. It could hardly be otherwise; the fountain was inexhaustible; moreover, the Greeks went to school to Homer to learn not merely culture, but history, patriotism, and religion. Their minds were fed on Homer, from the cradle up. Plato is saturated with Homer; so is Æschylus; so is Pindar; and of course Herodotus, who used the later Homeric dialect almost unchanged as his own medium. But if we leave externals to dive down into the very heart of Greek culture, we can still trace it back to Homer. Take Thucydides for instance, perhaps the most truly representative of all Greek writers. Externally his style is unlike nothing more than Homeric poetry. It is complex, artificial, involved, almost heavy. But what is the inner character of his mind and wondrous art? Surely his objectivity of vision—I mean a clear, calm intuition of his subject;

¹ Of course 'de gustibus non est disputandum.' There is an interesting passage in Kinglake's, *Eothen* (to which my attention has been called by a friend) in which he speaks of the power of the *Iliad* over his mind from earliest childhood. See chap. iv. *init.*

a vivid imagination which while it hurries him along, never disturbs him in his course; a stately dignity, which prevents his ever saying a word too much. He prefers to put the facts before the reader and to leave him to draw his own conclusions. We call this Greek reserve—it is a true indication of strength. Strength nobly wielded—this is the real root of Thucydides; and what is this but to say that he, if any Greek, is Homeric?

We know that Greek Drama was developed in great part from the recitation of the Homeric poems, and it

**Dramatic
element in
Homer.**

goes without saying that these are intensely dramatic. At every possible turn the poet makes his characters speak for themselves, and generally with the utmost animation. The ancients remarked this character of the poems, and Plato found fault with it as a form of imitation and therefore of unreality. Though he loved his Homer, and owed to him that element of poetic inspiration which makes his philosophy instinct with life and with interest for the modern mind, yet such was his devotion to the true and the absolute that he condemned Homer for his dramatic gift, which to him was but the mimicking of this world of shadows. He would, consequently, drive Homer with the rest of the poets clean away from his Ideal State—among other reasons because the poet speaks not in his own person but in the person of the various characters whom he introduces.

Aristotle, on the other hand, revolted from this doctrine. To him all poetry and all art is essentially the imitation of the real; and in answer to Plato's strictures he replies that Homer is to be praised for many reasons but for nothing more than this, that he knows his own place—for he says as little as possible in his own person, since when he does so he is not an Imitator! And he points out not merely that his characters speak for themselves but that they do so with the utmost propriety. Mr. Gladstone remarks that no two characters in Homer ever repeat themselves. Each one, and they are exceedingly numerous, is

distinct, clear-cut, and drawn with a firm hand, and what is most wonderful, this is particularly true of the women.

In dealing with the dramatic character of the poems, we may briefly refer to them as containing the germ and more than the germ of Greek Oratory. In nothing is Homer's power more evident than in the genuine simple eloquence of his speeches, and even of the shorter ones. There is no single branch of Oratory—pathos, invective, sarcasm, exhortation, entreaty, of which he does not possess the easy mastery; and here perhaps less than elsewhere can we make a distinction between the excellences of the two poems.

We may now descend to further particulars of Homeric art, and notice Homer's similes. He used them very constantly, and his poetic power in using them is truly marvellous. We notice in them the utmost range of observation and of thought; they come

The Homeric similes.

in at every turn, but especially when poetic emphasis is necessary. Here, too, is seen the childlike simplicity of treatment combined with masculine grasp of the subject. It is remarkable (as bearing out our contention that the *Iliad* is more intensely Homeric than the *Odyssey*) that the former, even in proportion to its greater length, contains more than three times as many similes than the latter. It is, however, evident that the *Iliad* being a poem of war presents many opportunities for, and with a view to variety perhaps necessitates the use of, the simile.

It has frequently been remarked that Homer, like other poets, embellishes his simile; that is, he does not restrict his description of it to the points for which the comparison is introduced. Pope expresses this by saying that Homer does not 'scruple to play with the circumstances.' On the other hand such embellishment need not be merely ornamental or rhetorical; for in order to let the simile do its work of illustration, it must call up before the mind a clear, vivid, and striking picture. An example will make this clear. In the eleventh *Iliad*,¹ Odysseus in the battle is likened to a boar that

¹ Line 416.

comes forth from a deep lair surrounded by hounds and young men in their bloom who rush round him, and he is whetting his "white tusk between crooked jaws," and the sound of gnashing tusks arises. Here the whetting of the tusk appears to be wholly ornamental, and yet who does not feel that it adds immensely to the force and the effectiveness of the picture?

There is even a strong tendency in Homer to accumulate similes in passages of special excitement and stress. They come one after another in great profusion, sometimes one picture apparently suggesting another and as it were dragging it after. There is a celebrated passage in the second *Iliad*, just before the Catalogue of Ships, in which the marshalling of the Greek hosts is described by means of similes. Here there are five comparisons one after another. Professor Jebb¹ points out that each picture marks a distinct phase in the action; he seems, moreover, to imply that these phases are indicated according to their proper development in order of time. In a matter like this, one is very loth to differ from a critic of such approved judgment and authority. Still the suggestion appears to me to be too complicated and artificial, and to have been introduced to destroy an irresistible impression of redundancy and over-elaboration. So that, while agreeing with Sir Richard Jebb in his main contention, I am still of opinion that this particular passage in our text is an instance of the mingling of later with earlier work, and is not as it stands an instance of true Homeric Art.

The blending by Homer of divine and human action is very essential to his art, although it has been strongly objected to by modern critics writing from their own literary standpoint. In the *Iliad* we find at the most crucial points of the action, divine intervention is invoked and without apparent necessity. Apollo strikes Patroclus before he is slain by Hector; and the latter in his turn is tricked by Athena who, taking the form of his comrade and brother,

¹ *Homer*, p. 32.

Deiphobus, makes him the easy prey of the Greek champion. Certainly from the modern point of view this is in both cases to deprive the victor of his glory, and to snatch from him the prize when it is in his very grasp. As an indignant French critic,¹ following Croiset, says, "The heroes become merely instruments in the hands of the gods as a lance is in the hands of a warrior. This intervention shocks us, and it is wanting in literary taste, since it is inopportune and badly managed." And the conception of the gods formed by the poet is objected to, as mechanical, uninteresting, or vulgar.

From its own standpoint, we repeat, such criticism is unanswerable. But what is the use of reading Homer if we do not take the trouble to understand the poet's standpoint? In the view of the primitive bard it is precisely the supernatural which counts. It is because his gods are very human that he depicts his heroes as half-divine. Achilles was the son of a goddess—and that another and a greater goddess should stand by him at a supreme moment, and use her own methods in assisting him finally to dispose of his enemy, does not detract from his prowess, but rather adds infinitely to its dignity and importance. We are not to ask (what is taken for granted) whether Achilles could have slain Hector unaided; what we are simply to note is the fact that he does slay Hector and that in doing so he is closely associated with divine agency. We might maintain that this is a primitive way of expressing belief in Destiny, whether you call it Kismet or Providence. But a truce to philosophy—it is enough to repeat that the supernatural is *essential* to Homer, and that therefore to try to separate the divine from the human betrays not merely want of imagination, but **even** a false standard.

It has been, not unreasonably, maintained that, steeped as the Greeks were in the love of the Beautiful, yet they did not appreciate, as we do, the aspects of external nature and her scenic charms. To discuss

¹ P. Sortais, *Ilios et Iliade*, p. 324-5.

**Homer's love
of nature.**

this question widely would be for us beside the mark, but we may consider how far it is true that the Homeric poems betray any insensibility to the beauties of nature and of scenery of nature. We may certainly admit that in Homer there is no conscious effort to describe, much less to interpret, natural beauty, nor could we justly expect to find in poetry which is essentially spontaneous and objective the modern tendency to search for and reflect upon that which in nature delights and refreshes us. But if Homer does not discuss the beautiful, he constantly seizes it. This is merely to say that he is a poet; and to no poet was it given to have a finer intuition of nature, to describe its beauty more unerringly or more unaffectedly. His directness of speech is as marvellous as his clearness of vision. He sees truth and beauty, and simply tells us what he sees. In the compass of a single epithet he can describe the morning laying hold of the sky by streaking it with lines of crimson fire—"When the 'rosy-fingered' Dawn appeared." . . . The lights and shadows seen through the clear Greek air on the rugged slope of Olympus are vividly recalled by the phrase 'many-folded;' the sea is word-photographed in all its varying moods, from the shock of the tempest to the ripple lapping the pebbles on the beach. The most common epithet of the sea is perhaps 'boisterous' (πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης); it is also called 'violet-hued' and 'wine-dark,' and has an infinity of other epithets.

Homer's love of nature is, however, not manifested chiefly in his gift of characterising its various aspects by means of beautiful adjectives. He shows a deep sympathy with nature in never shrinking from describing what is in itself repellant, yet with such simplicity and truth that we are thrilled with the pathos without feeling disgust at the realism of his battle scenes.

Lessing, whose theory of poetry is based very largely on Homer, points out that in the poems lengthy word-painting in the modern sense is generally avoided. According to this great critic, while it is the function of the painter (or the sculptor), to portray beauty—it

is that of the poet not to describe it merely but to make us feel it by describing its effects.¹ The palmary instance he gives of this principle is the scene in the Third Book² of the *Iliad*, where Helen is introduced in the presence of the Trojan chieftains who are constrained by her beauty to speak forgivingly of the woe she is bringing on them. But her beauty itself is summed up in a single epithet 'white-armed.'

A few words may be added about Homer's love of nature as she is manifested in animal life. It has been frequently remarked that the bards display a surprising knowledge of the habits and characters of all sorts of brute creatures, from the lion and the panther and the wild boar to the quieter and more domestic animals. The same applies to all sorts of birds, and these as well as the beasts form the great repertory for his ever-varying and expressive similes. We may, perhaps, account for this by the love of movement and energy which is one of the chief Homeric traits, and indeed in the *Iliad*, where such similes most abound, such movement is the very life of the poetry, springing as it does directly out of the subject. But if Homer's mind and art directly tend to the description of animal life, he never forgets for an instant that human life is the real theme of the epic bard. Consequently, we shall find on examination of the Homeric portraiture of animals that they are not found alone. Man is recognised as their true master and usually finds himself associated with them; thus the poet, though he clearly revels in drawing the pictures, uses them as backgrounds to lend emphasis to his proper subject, which is man.

¹ See *Laocoon*, chaps. xxi.-xxii.

² *Il.* 139-160.

INDEX

Index

	Page		Page
Absence of Dorism in Homer	45	Antiquity of Athenian Vul-	
Achæans, advent of . . .	291	gate . . .	63
— (the 'Fair-haired'),		<i>ἀοῖδοι</i> , mentioned . . . by	
Ridgeway on . . .	296	Homer . . .	29, 101, 215
Achilles, story of . . .	2, 111	Aphrodite, cult of 5, 195, 212, 291	
— character of . . .	114, 316	Apollo, conception of . . .	196
<i>Achilleid</i> , Grote's theory of	150	Apparel, male . . .	227, 294
— theory of . . .	105	— female . . .	227, 294
— original limits of . . .	107-8	Archaism (false) in Homer	47
Addition of lines to Vulgate		Archilochus, date of . . .	44
text . . .	55	Arctinus of Miletus . . .	12
Aegean geography in Homer	176	Argive fortresses . . .	247
Aegina . . .	252, 270, 281	Argive Plain, the cities of . . .	279
Aeolians, the . . .	130	" <i>Ἄργος Ἡελασγικόν</i> " . . .	36
— character of . . .	122	" <i>Ἀχαικόν</i> " . . .	36
Aeolic school of Homeric		Aristarchian school . . .	33 ff
poetry . . .	130	— signs . . .	36
— school of lyric poetry	20	Aristarchus, forerunners of . . .	33
— theory of Fick . . .	41, 165	— linguistic labours of . . .	34
Aeolisms in Homer . . .	41, 128, 165	— general criticism of . . .	36
Aeschines quoting Homer . . .	57	— his influence on text . . .	59
<i>Aethiopsis</i> , the . . .	11	Aristeiai . . .	4
Agiass of Troezen . . .	13	Aristophanes of Byzantium . . .	34
Alexandria, library of . . .	32	Aristotle on plot of Homeric	
— fire at library of . . .	35, note	poems . . .	6
Alleged Hellenistic forms in		— on unity of epic . . .	106
Homer . . .	47	— quoting Homer . . .	57-8
Allegorising school of inter-		Armour, Homeric types of . . .	158,
preters . . .	30	229, 293, 299, 308	
Allen and Sikes on the Ho-		Arnold, Matthew . . .	136, 164
meric Hymns . . .	8	Arrangement into books . . .	38
Allen, Mr. T. W. . . .	37	Article (<i>ὁ, ἡ, τό</i>), . . .	69, 73
— on the <i>κοινή</i> , . . .	59, 60-1	Athena as patron-goddess 7, 195	
Alphabet, the Attic . . .	28	Athetesis (obelising) . . .	58
Alpine habitat ascribed to		Atlas, Pillars of . . .	171
Achæans . . .	298	Attic element in Homer . . .	45
Alternative forms . . .	91		
Ambrosianus Codex . . .	54	Background (scenic) of <i>Iliad</i> . . .	3
'Analogies' of Homeric		Bards, mention of . . .	29, 101, 215
vocabulary . . .	35	<i>Batracho-myo-machia</i> , the . . .	10
'Anomalies' of — . . .	35	<i>Battle of the Mice</i> , the . . .	10
Anchors, stone . . .	235	Beak-jug form of vase . . .	268
Anthropomorphism in		Bentley on composition of	
Homer . . .	197	<i>Iliad</i> . . .	145
Antimachus of Colophon . . .	27,	— on the digamma . . .	80 note
	63, 156		

	Page		Page
Bérard, M. Victor	177, 188	Contrast between <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>	5
— on the Phœnicians	184	Controversy, outlines of Homeric	144
Birthplace of Homer, 83, 118, 142		Corcyra, possible identifica- tion of	189
Bithynians, the	175	Cosmography, Homeric	171
Boeotia in the Catalogue	176	Council of Homeric chiefs	208
Books, arrangement of	38	Counterplot of <i>Iliad</i> , <i>see</i> Ce- lestial.	
Borrowings from earlier pas- sages	101-3	Crisis	80
Brooch, the, 227, 294, 300, 309		Cremation 203, 286, 287, 299, 310	
Bucolic diæresis	76, 95	Crete, excavations in	253
Bügalkanne, <i>see</i> Stirrup- vase.		— Homeric description of	181, 281
Bunárbashi (Troad)	172-3	Cretan forms of writing	257
Buttmann's <i>Lexilogus</i>	48-9	Critical signs of Aristarchus	36
Cæsure, in Homeric hexa- meter	76	Croiset, criticism of	162
— Trochaic	77	Cults, Chthonian	190
Calaurian League, The	289	Cycle of Mythology	15
Cases, syntax of	72	— Trojan	14
Castigator of Homer (Xeno- phanes)	31	'Cyclic' poems, the	10, 134
'Catalogue,' the	112, 135, 176	— connected with <i>Iliad</i>	11
Celestial counterplot of <i>Iliad</i>	5	— — with <i>Odyssey</i>	13
Celtic theory, <i>see</i> Ridgeway.		Cyclops, story of	133
χαλκός,	217	Cynæthus of Chios	27, 166
Champagne-glass type of cylinx	268	Cypria, the	11
Chariots	233	Cyprus, excavations in	251
Chios, bard of	83	— Homeric knowledge of	187
χρηστομαθεία γραμματική, 11, 53		Dark Age, the	240
Christ, criticism of	162	Date of our Homeric text	64
Chronology, early Mycenaean, <i>see</i> late Minōan.		— of <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>	19
— later Mycenaean	271	Dead, worship of the	193
— late Minōan	273	— condition of the	202
— middle Minōan	275	Decadence, period of	134
— early Minōan	276	Demodocus, Lay of	135
Chthonian cults	190	Development of civilisation	96
Cleisthenes of Sicyon	24	— of Homeric language	91
Codex Venetus A	53	Diæresis, the Bucolic	76, 95
Codices, Homeric	52	Dialect, the Homeric	40
Commodities, relative value of	216	Didymus, the Brazen	37
Confusion of words in Homer	48	Diet, articles of	226
Constructive school of criti- cism in England	150	Dieuchidas of Megara	26
Contamination, <i>see</i> post- Dorian.		Difficulties of Mycenaean theory of Homeric folk	287
Contract forms of Verbs	67	Digamma, use of	79
		— traces of	43
		— development in use of	94
		Discrepancies (minor) in Homer	89

	Page		Page
Distribution of Mycenæan culture	278	Fibula, <i>see</i> Brooch.	
Dodona, oracle of	177, 297	Fick's Aeolic theory	41, 165
Dorians, the	181, 305 ff	Figures of speech, characteristic	74
Dorism, absence of in Homer	45	Final syllables, lengthening of	78
Dörpfeld's excavations at Troy	246	Fragmentary codices and papyri	54
Dramatic element in Homer	319		
Drinking, habits of	226	Geddes, contribution to Homeric criticism	152
Duplication of incidents in <i>Odyssey</i>	137	— on distinguishing features of later work	114
		Gems, Mycenæan	265, 295
Editions of Homeric Scholia	56	Genealogies of kings	208
Education, Homer in Greek	30	Geography (Homeric), Inner and Outer	170
Egypt, mention of in Homer	187	Gladstone on European origin of poems	119, 127
Egyptian influence in Aegean art	263 ff	Gladstone's criticism	164
— papyri	52	Gradual composition of poems	87
ἐκδόσεις of Aristarchus	34	Grammar (Homeric) general principles of	66
„ κατὰ πόλεις,	35, 62	Greaves	229, 232, 285, 293
„ κατ' ἄνδρα	63	Grote's theory of the <i>Iliad</i>	150
Elision and Hiatus	77	— Plato	58
Emphasis of repetition	75		
Enkomi, excavations at	252	Half-elision (so-called)	77
Ἐπισφύρια	232, 285	Hallstatt, cemeteries of	298
Epithets, use of stock,	75	Harrison (Miss J. E.) on Homeric religion	191, 290
— hieratic	93	Hector, character of	113
<i>Epitome</i> of Didymus	156	Helbig on the Phœnicians	184
Ethical progress	98	Helen, Gladstone on character of	113
Eugammon of Cyrene	13	Helmets	232, 293
Euhemerus and his school of interpretation	31	Hellenic literature influenced by Homer	318
Eumæus, scenes with	161	Hellenistic, alleged forms in Homer	47
Euripides the Younger	63	Hellespontine area, the	174
Evans (Dr. Arthur J.), excavations at Knossus	253 ff	Herodian on prosody, etc.	38 n.
Evolution of the Myth	99	Herodotean forms in Homer	41
— of <i>Iliad</i>	104	Herodotus, on Theogony	201
Expansions (the greater) of <i>Iliad</i>	109	— on date of Homer	24
External evidence for personal Homer	82	Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i>	21
		— date of	22
False analogy in Verb-formation	48	Hiatus, metrical	77
False archaisms	47	Hieratic epithets	93
False-necked vases	268		
Fate, in relation to Zeus	199		
Feminine cæsure, the	77 note		

- | | Page | | Page |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| Hipparchus, Tyrant of | | Labialisation in Greek | 300, 312 |
| Athens | 25 | Land tenure | 209 |
| <i>Hipparchus</i> , the, of Plato | 25 | 'Lay of Demodocus' | 135 |
| Hissarlik | 172, 245 | Leaf (Walter) theory of the | |
| Historical basis of poems, | 237 | <i>Iliad</i> | 154 |
| Homer in Greek education | 30 | Legendary, or Dark Age | 240 |
| 'Homer' what we mean by | 139 | Length by position (with | |
| — two views of | 141 | digamma) | 79 |
| Homeridæ of Chios | 28 | Lengthening of final syllables | 78 |
| Horse, its prominence in | | Lesches of Mitylene | 12 |
| <i>Iliad</i> | 125 | Lessing's theory of poetry | 323 |
| Hospitality, law of | 210 | Lion-gate at Mycenæ | 249 |
| Human sacrifice | 193 | Liquids (lengthening before) | 78 |
| Humorous pieces | 9 | <i>Little Iliad</i> , the | 11, 12, 14 |
| 'Hymns,' the Homeric | 8, 29, 95 | Locrians, geographical posi- | |
| | | tion of | 126 |
| Ideal State of Plato | 32 | Ludwich, criticism of | 58 |
| <i>Iliad</i> , original scope of | 104 | Lycurgus | 24 |
| Imports of Phœnicians | 185 ff | | |
| Industrial organisation | 214 | MSS. of <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i> | 52 |
| Infinitive for imperative | 71 | Marginal Scholia | 52, 56 |
| Inflexional forms (Æolic) | 42 | <i>Margites</i> , the | 9 |
| Influence of Aristarchus on | | Marriage laws | 212 |
| Homeric text | 59 ff | Material civilisation, pro- | |
| Internal evidence for unity | | gress of | 100 |
| of authorship | 85-6 | Matriarchal period, possible | |
| Interpolations (lesser) of | | survivals of | 194 |
| <i>Iliad</i> | 112 | <i>Μέγανον</i> (or Great-Hall) | 222, |
| <i>Ion</i> , Plato's | 29 | | 262, 282 |
| Ionia, school of elegiac | | Mediæval MSS. | 52 |
| poetry | 20, 167 | Mediterranean, Western | 188-9 |
| Ionian origin of part of | | Medinet Haboo | 294 |
| poems | 126 | Melos, <i>see</i> Phylakopi. | |
| Ionians, character of | 122 | Metals, knowledge of | 217 |
| Ionic dialect of Homer | 41 | Metal-work | 218, 264, 266, 284 |
| Iron in Homer | 218, 292, 299, 306 | Metre, notes on | 76-9 |
| Ithaca | 179, 280 | Metrical hiatus | 77 |
| | | — necessity | 95 note |
| Jebb, on expansions of | | Minoan civilisation | 256 |
| <i>Iliad</i> | 110, 120, 155 | — pottery (polychrome) | 256, 262 |
| — on Kirchhoff's theory | 161 | Money, substitutes for | 216 |
| | | Monro (Dr.) on Aeolisms in | |
| Keftians | 273, 276-7 | Homer | 129 |
| Keller's <i>Homeric Society</i> | 205 | Moods, syntax of | 71 |
| Kirchhoff on the <i>Odyssey</i> | 159, 163 | Mycenæ | 176, 245, 278 |
| Knossus, excavations at | 254 ff | Mycenæan culture, how far | |
| <i>Κούρη</i> , the | 60-1-2 | indigenous | 263 |
| | | — distribution of | 278 ff |
| | | <i>Myomachia</i> , the | 10 |

	Page		Page
Myths, development of	18,	Pause in Homeric verse	76
	99, 201	Peisistratus, alleged recen-	
Mythology, Homer's influ-		sion of Homer	25, 64, 147
ence on	201	Peloponnese, the	177
Nature, Homer's love of	323	Peoples of the Sea	294
Nature cults, traces of	192	Pergamum, Homeric school	
Nausicaa	7, 211	of	36
Navigation	234	Periphrasis in Homer	75
Nekuia, the	133, 138	Pelasgians (in Crete)	181
Nestor's cup	285	Pelopidæ, the	312
New-Ionic forms	45, 62	Phæacia	189
Nicanor on punctuation,	38 note	Phæacians, the	186
Nitzsch, Wilhelm	148	Phœnicians 182 ff, 205, 214,	273
<i>Nostoi</i> , the	13, 17, 135	— imports of	184
<i>Nostos</i> , germ of <i>Odyssey</i>	160	Physical characteristics of	
Noun-formation	68	Achæans	296, 229, 312
		Phylakopi, excavations at	261
Obelus, the	37, 58	Pinax (Rhodian) in British	
Observance of digamma	79, 80	Museum	138, 158
Ocean, Homeric view of	171	Pindar on the 'Hymns'	8
Odysseus, prominence of in		Plato's attitude towards	
parts of <i>Iliad</i>	115, 122	Homer	31, 200, 319
<i>Odyssey</i> , composite nature		— quotations of Homer	57
of	132	Plot of <i>Iliad</i>	3
Old-Ionic dialect	41	Πολύστιχος (ἔκδοσις),	59
Olympus, Mount	97	Popularity of <i>Iliad</i> in Hel-	
— position of	124	lenistic period	51, 55
Olympianism, cults of	191,	Poseidon's hostility to	
	194, 288, 310	Odysseus	7, 291
* <i>Ομηπος</i> (meaning of name)	84	— cult of	194, 289
Onomacritus of Athens	26	Post-Dorian contamination	305
Orchomenus, importance		Pottery, <i>see</i> Vases	
of	176, 280	Pre-Alexandrian canon	61
— tholos-tomb of	264	Preludes (the 'Hymns')	8
Optative, use of	71	Priesthood	207, 215, 297
		Primitive cults in Homer	190
Palace, the Homeric	221, 262, 282	Proclus, author of <i>Χρητομαθεία</i>	
Paley (Professor), paradox			11, 53
of	154	<i>Prolegomena</i> of Wolf	144
Panathenæa, Homeric reci-		<i>Prolegomena</i> to Greek Reli-	
tations at the	27	gion	191, 290
Panoply, the Homeric	229, 293	Pronoun-forms	70
Papyri, Homeric	54	Προοίμια (the 'Hymns')	8
Parataxis	74	Pseudo-archaisms	47, 157
Particles, Homeric use of	73	Pylus, site of	177
Paradox of Zenon	82 note		
Παθητική (of <i>Iliad</i>)	6	Quotations from Homer	52
Πάθος in <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>	6		
Patriarchal state of society	207	Raft of Odysseus	236

	Page		Page
Rapidity as test of primitive style	136	Supernatural intervention	321
Recognition scene	160	Surgical skill	215
'Redactions' of <i>Odyssey</i>	135, 160, 163	Synizesis	80
Reichel's theory	293, 308	Syntactical development	93, 113
Religious ideals, development of	97, 194, 201	Syntax of Cases	72
Rhapsodes	28 ff	— of Moods	71
Rhapsodising of Homer	30	Tabular scheme of books of <i>Iliad</i>	111
Rhodian Pinax	138, 158	— — — <i>Odyssey</i>	163
Ridgeway (Professor), Celtic theory of, 295, 305, 312, 314		Talent, the Homeric	216
— on land tenure	209	<i>Telegony</i> , the	13
<i>Sack of Troy</i> , the	11	<i>Telemachy</i> , the	159
Sacrifice, human	193	Text, our Homeric	51
— ceremonial of	202	— date of	64
Samothrace and the Troad	174	— authorities for	52
Sayce (Professor) on Homeric forms	41, 157	Textual criticism, foundation of	32
Schliemann, Heinrich	244	<i>Thebais</i> , the	24 (note) 27
Schnabelkanne, <i>see</i> Beak-jug.		Θείος, as epithet of heroes	115
Scholia, Homeric	56, 144	Theognis	30
Schools (two) of Homeric epic	119 ff, 128, 140, 307	Theogony, Homer's influence on	201
σημεία of Aristarchus	36	Thessalian origin of <i>Achilleid</i>	123
Shaft-graves of Mycenæ	250	Thessaly, character of its scenery	125
Shield, the Homeric	229 ff, 292, 293, 299	Thirlwall on Homer's birth-place	118
Ship, the Homeric	234	Tholos-tombs	250-1
Σιδόνιοι ἄνδρες	186	Thrace, Homeric knowledge of	175, 282
Simile, the Homeric	320	Thresholds in Homeric Palace	224
Sittl on Æolic forms	42	Thucydides as interpreter	31
— on the digamma	44	Tiryns	248, 283
Slavery	213	Townley Codex of <i>Iliad</i>	54
Smyrna	85, 131	Tradition of 'Homer'	82, 142
Solon, connection with poems	25	Transmission of poems	146
Soothsayers	215	Triad (great) of divinities	195
Sparta	176	Troad, topography of	171, 281
Spondaic verses	77	Trochaic cæsura, the	77
Stasinus of Cyprus	12	Trojan cycle	14
στῆλαι at Mycenæ	250, 285, 286	Troy, excavations at	245
Stereotyped expressions	74	Tyre (not mentioned in poems)	185
Stirrup-vase (Bugelkanne)	268, 271, 273, 281	Vaphio gold cups	266
Stock epithets	75	Vase-painting, arguments from	158
Subject, change of in clauses	74	Vases, Mycenæan	267
Subjunctive (with ἄν or κεν)	71		

	Page		Page
Venetus A, Codex . . .	53	Western Mediterranean, the	188
Verb-formation . . .	70	Wolf's <i>Prolegomena</i> . . .	144
Verse (Homeric) rules of .	76 ff	— conservative ten-	
Villoison's edition Codex A	53	dencies . . .	145
Violations of digamma . .	79	Wolfian school of criticism .	146
Vocabulary (Homeric) . . .	75	Women, position of . . .	211
Vocalization of Digamma .	43	— quarters of, 223, 256, 283	
Vowel quantity . . .	78	— apparel of . . .	228, 294
— substitution (in Aeolic)	42	Wood (Robert) on Homer .	145
Vulgate (Athenian), anti-		<i>Works and Days</i> of Hesiod .	21
quity of . . .	63	Writing, mention of, . . .	216
Warr (Professor) on Aeolic		Xenophanes of Colophon . .	31
forms . . .	45	Zeus, an elemental god .	97, 198
Welckler on the cycle . . .	14	— cult of . . .	292, 297
West wind, criterion of		— supremacy of . . .	198, 289
locality . . .	127		

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